

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXIV-1975



LEUVEN
UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE HAGUE
MARTINUS NIJHOFF

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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Beginning with volume 17 (1968) *HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA* appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publishers: *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium) or *Martinus Nijhoff*, P.O. Box 269, 's-Gravenhage (Netherlands).

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Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex) to a member of the editorial board. They should follow the prescriptions of the *MHRA Style Book*, published by W.S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England.

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Gepubliceerd met de steun van de Universitaire Stichting van België en van de Belgische Regering.

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ISBN 90 6186 039 3

Wettelijk depot : D/1975/1869/15

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Heinz-Werner NÖRENBERG

LEONARDO [BRUNIS] *POLISCENA* UND IHRE STELLUNG
IN DER TRADITION DER RÖMISCHEN KOMÖDIE

Harald Patzer zum 65. Geburtstag
am 2. Juli 1975

Die im allgemeinen unter dem Namen Leonardo Brunis überlieferte neulateinische Komödie *Poliscena* verdient in besonderem Maße unser Interesse, weil sie als eines der ersten Dramen der italienischen Frührenaissance eine vermittelnde Position zwischen den mittelalterlichen Dramen einerseits und andererseits, vor allem seit der Entdeckung der Plautuskomödien im Codex Ursinianus 1429 durch Nikolaus von Cues, den sich eng an plautinischen und terenzischen Vorbildern orientierenden lateinischen und in deren Folge auch italienischen Komödien des Quattrocento und Cinquecento einnimmt. Von Petrarcas *Philologia*, dem ersten lateinischen Drama der Frührenaissance, kennen wir nur aus dem Briefwechsel Petrarcas mit Giovanni Colonna di S. Vitto ein einziges Fragment, das von Inhalt und Form dieser Komödie keine Vorstellung mehr zuläßt¹, und das Drama, das der *Poliscena* zeitlich unmittelbar vorausgeht, der etwa 1389/90 in Bologna entstandene *Paulus* Vergerios, ist eine Studentenkomödie, die mit moralischer Tendenz auf die Gefahren des Reichtums für die studierenden jungen Männer hinweist und so gerade nicht ihr sujet im Sinne und Stil der römischen Komödie traktiert². Die *Poliscena* ist daher das erste Stück

¹ *Fam.* II. 7 (Fr. Petrarca, *Le Familiari*. Libri I-IV, a cura di V. Rossi [Firenze, 1933], S. 86; *Id.*, Libri I-XI. Introduz., traduz., note di U. Dotti [Urbino, 1974], I. 189); vgl. W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*. I: *Mittelalter und Frührenaissance*, II: *Renaissance und Reformation*, 2. Aufl. (Halle 1911-1918) I, 531; A. Stäuble, *La commedia umanistica del Quattrocento* (Firenze, 1968), S. 3.

² Creizenach, I, 535-37; I. Sanesi, *La commedia*, 2a ed. rived. e accresciuta, (Milano, 1954) I, 102; A. Perosa, *Teatro umanistico* (Milano, 1965), 18,59; Stäuble, S. 10; K. Müllner, 'Vergerios Paulus, eine Studentenkomödie', *Wiener Studien*, XXII

der Frührenaissance, das von der Gattungsgeschichte her den Anspruch erheben darf, die Tradition der römischen Komödien fortzusetzen, und wir werden deshalb nach seinem Verhältnis zu den Komödien des Plautus und Terenz sowie zu denen des Mittelalters zu fragen haben.

Was zunächst die Publikumswirksamkeit der *Poliscena* angeht, so ist keine der uns bekannten Renaissancekomödien in so vielen Handschriften und — im unmittelbaren Anschluß an die handschriftliche Tradition — in so vielen frühen Drucken erhalten wie gerade dieses Stück³. Allein von 1478, dem Erscheinungsjahr der Editio princeps in Schussenried, bis 1517 erschienen in Leipzig, Krakau und Wien 14 Ausgaben⁴. Danach ist keine weitere Edition mehr bekannt. Die weite Verbreitung der Komödie am Ende des 15. und Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts dürfte ihren Grund im Interesse am Namen Brunis haben, aber auch dem Umstand zuzuschreiben sein, daß die *Poliscena* an den Universitäten zum Répertoire der humanistischen Lehrgegenstände gehörte; auch das sicherlich nicht ohne den zuerst genannten Grund. So haben z.B. Matthias von Przedbory und Johannes Mstow an der Universität Krakau in den Wintersemestern 1518 und 1523 im Anschluß

(1900), 236-257, datiert den *Paulus* irrig um 1370 (so auch Creizenach in der 1. Aufl. von 1893, I, 534). Beide Datierungen zuletzt bei D. Radcliff-Umstead, *The Birth of Modern Comedy in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1969) S. 25, Anm. 5. Neue Ausgabe: P. P. Vergerio il Vecchio, *Paulus*. Testo critico a cura di S. Cella, in *Atti e Memorie d. Soc. Istriana di Archeol. e Storia Patria*, N.S. XIV (1966), Ss. 1-32.

³ Creizenach, I, 566; in gewisser Weise vergleichbar ist nur noch Pisanis *Philogenia*, vgl. Creizenach, I, 556, Anm. 2; Stäuble, S. 281-282.

⁴ Für Italien selbst ist keine Ausgabe nachgewiesen; vgl. die Übersicht über die Handschriften und Ausgaben bei Stäuble 271-274 und vor ihm bei E. Beutler, *Forschungen und Texte zur frühhumanistischen Komödie* (Hamburg, 1927), S. 74-77. Zwei weitere, von Beutler und Stäuble nicht erwähnte Handschriften befinden sich in der Biblioteka Gdańska der Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Ms Mar. Q 29, fol. 195-204; vgl. O. Günther, *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, Teil 5: *Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig* [Danzig 1921], S. 527-33) und in der Biblioteka Czartoryskich des Muzeum Narodowe in Krakau (Czart. Cod. ms 1315; vgl. *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej*, Tom. 1, [Wrocław, 1965], S. 92). Entgegen den Angaben dieses Katalogs enthält Ms. 1242 die *Poliscena* nicht, und bei XVI. 1891 I handelt es sich nur um einen frühen Druck. — Durch das freundliche Entgegenkommen von Herrn Doz. Dr. E. Kotarski besitze ich von der Danziger Handschrift, die etwa 1463-1469 z.T. in Görlitz geschrieben wurde, einen Mikrofilm sowie eine Kopie eines ebenfalls in Danzig vorhandenen Exemplars der 1503 von Melchior Lotter in Leipzig gedruckten Ausgabe, das in den Übersichten bei Beutler, der keine Vollständigkeit anstrebt, und Stäuble nicht erscheint.

an Kollegen über die Briefe des Horaz und den *Liber meteorum* des Aristoteles auch über die *Poliscena* gelesen ⁵. Allein in Leipzig sind elf der Ausgaben gleichfalls als Reflex des Universitätsunterrichtes erschienen ⁶, und im süddeutschen Raum sorgte Peter Luder, der in seinem Unterricht vor allem die etwas spätere Komödie *Cauteriarum* Antonio Barzizzas behandelte, auch für die Verbreitung der *Poliscena* ⁷.

— Die Autorfrage.

Obwohl alle Handschriften mit Ausnahme des Codex 1954 der Bibliotheca Jagellonica in Krakau Leonardo Bruni als Verfasser der *Poliscena* nennen, ist an dessen Autorschaft schon früh gezweifelt worden. In dem umfangreichen Corpus von Brunis Werken gibt es nirgends einen Hinweis auf die Komödie, und Mehus, der erste Herausgeber von Brunis Briefen, »ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der Frühzeit des italienischen Humanismus«, kannte das Stück selbst nicht, sondern gibt im Vorwort zu seiner Ausgabe nur an, Philibert de la Mare habe die *Poliscena* zu Brunis Werken gezählt. Mehus hält es sogar für möglich, daß das Stück mit Brunis Übersetzung des aristophanesischen *Plutos* identisch sein könne ⁸. Die bisher einzige aktuelle Anspielung in der Komödie auf Gasparino de Barzizza, mit dem die alte Dienerin Tharatantara ihrer Beredsamkeit wegen verglichen wird, half in dieser Frage auch nicht weiter, da sich keine engeren Beziehungen zwischen Barzizza und Bruni

⁵ *Liber diligentiarum facultatis artistarum universitatis Cracoviensis*, ed. Wislocki (Cracoviae, 1886), S. 137, 162, zitiert bei Creizenach I, 567; vgl. Sanesi I, 142; Stäuble, S. 243.

⁶ Darauf hat schon Beutler, S. 77 hingewiesen, der im übrigen das Konstanzer und Basler Konzil für die internationale Verbreitung »dieser neumodischen literarischen Produktion Italiens« verantwortlich macht (S. 74).

⁷ Creizenach, I, 556-557; G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das 1. Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, 4., unveränd. Aufl. (Berlin 1960) II, 407; Beutler, S. 74.

⁸ L. Mehus, *Leonhardi Bruni Aretini Epistolarum libri VIII*, (Florentiae, 1741), S. LXXX; vgl. Creizenach I, 545 (das Zitat dort Anm. 1); Sanesi, I, 141 wie Creizenach ohne klare Entscheidung für oder gegen Brunis Verfasserschaft; Perosa, S. 19, 32; G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio de Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*, 3 Bände (Berlin 1856-63), II, 269, spricht sogar von zwei Komödien Brunis *Calphurnia et Gurgulia* (sic) und *Polixena*, deren Inhalt jedoch unbekannt sei. Dieser Irrtum wurde schon von G. Zippel, *Giunte e correzioni* (Firenze, 1897) S. 60, korrigiert; vgl. Sanesi I, 763. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung* II, 407 Anm. 3, erkennt die Identität der beiden Titel an; vgl. Radcliff-Umstead, S. 32 mit Anm. 18.


nachweisen lassen⁹. Auf Grund einer angeblich thematischen Verwandtschaft hatte F. Beck versucht, die *Poliscena* in die Nähe der durch zwei Briefe Brunis auf den Januar 1408 datierbaren *Oratio Heliogabali ad meretrices* zu rücken, einer Rede, die Bruni durch die Lektüre der Elagabal-Vita des Lampridius angeregt den Kaiser als Feldherrn im Stil der obszönen Posse zu seinen *commilitones* halten läßt¹⁰. Da es aber in dieser Rede weder inhaltliche noch stilistische Parallelen zu der Komödie gibt, ist Becks These hinfällig.

Nun hat in jüngster Zeit Cecchini unter Hinweis auf die subscriptio im Krakauer Codex 1954 den dort erwähnten Leonardo de la Serrata

⁹ Beutler, S. 11-12. Die Anspielung auf ihn lautet: »Puto equidem (*cod. Crac. 1954*, etenim *codd.*) te in caballino et Parnasi fonte delibutam et, si phas est, erroneum imitari Pitagoram atque facundum, qui lapillis usus est, Demostenem; ne vero peregrina petamus nomina, te numquam (*cod. Crac. 1954*; *omm. codd.*) Casparis Pergamensis viri hac nostra etate eloquentissimi spiritum auxisse« (*cod. Crac. 1954*; *hausisse codd.*). Auf diese ironisch hochgestochene Apostrophe Tharatantaras — deutlich steht ja der Anfang des Prologs von Persius' Satiren dahinter —, antwortet die Alte in echt komischer Manier, sie leide nicht an Magenschmerzen und brauche deshalb keinen Fenchel. Wegen dieser Antwort ist Creizenach I, 545 unschlüssig, ob das Ganze Ironie oder Huldigung sein solle. Doch, das hat Beutler, S. 12 (vgl. Stäuble, S. 13) sehr gut gezeigt, was der anus gegenüber komischer Witz ist, das hat natürlich für Gasparino volle Geltung, wenn er hier als Rhetoriklehrer mit Demosthenes auf eine Stufe gestellt wird. Denn damit die Pointe auch richtig ankam, mußte er für das Publikum bereits eine bekannte Größe gewesen sein, sonst wäre der Witz sinnlos. Als gefeierter Rhetoriklehrer war Barzizza einem größeren Publikum aber erst seit seinem Aufenthalt in Padua, Venedig und Mailand bekannt, wo er noch vor Lorenzo Valla die klassische Reinheit des ciceronianischen Stils als allein mustergültig propagiert hatte. Vgl. A. Gaspary, *Die Italienische Literatur der Renaissancezeit*, (Berlin, 1888), II, 118-119; P. Bahlmann, *Die Erneuerer des antiken Dramas und ihre ersten dramatischen Versuche 1314 bis 1478. Eine bio-bibliographische Darstellung der Anfänge der modernen Dramendichtung* (Münster, 1896) S. 21; Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung* I, 220-222; Th. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 5. Aufl. (Darmstadt, 1967) S. 181-182; Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, II, 272. — Im Namen der Tharatantara liegt ein charakteristisches Kennzeichen ihrer Wesensart. Der Verfasser der Komödie hat ihre Geschwätzigkeit ins Groteske übersteigernd dazu benutzt, um an das aus Ennius, *Annales* 43 (140) bekannte Tubageschmetter zu erinnern: »at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit«.

¹⁰ F. Beck, *Studien zu Lionardo Bruni* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1912), S. 17. Diese Datierung übernehmen auch Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe*, hrsg. von H. Baron (Leipzig-Berlin 1928), S. 111, 162, und A. Perosa, *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* (zitiert bei Stäuble, S. 13); Beutler, S. 12 schlägt wegen der Nennung Barzizzas ebenfalls das erste Jahrzehnt des 15. Jahrhunderts vor, dem sich Stäuble, S. 164 anschließt. Vgl. Perosa, *Teatro umanistico*, S. 19.

aus Vercelli als Autor der *Poliscena* bezeichnet¹¹, und da dieser Codex etwa 30 Jahre älter als die anderen Handschriften ist, kommt ihm in der Tat eine Schlüsselstellung sowohl für die Textkonstitution als auch in der Frage der Verfasserschaft zu. Die Kernstelle, an der die Handschrift sich am deutlichsten von allen übrigen Überlieferungsträgern unterscheidet und die auch Cecchini zitiert, ist eine Stelle aus III 1¹², an der der Codex als Text »*Non, si auream regissolis effigiem daret*« bietet, während die anderen Handschriften nur »*Non, si auream solis effigiem daret*« haben. Nun wissen wir, daß in Pavia ein Reiterstandbild des Regissol existierte, das in einem von Maffeo Vegio etwa in dem Zeitraum von 1432-1436 verfaßten Gedicht *Regissol statua papiensis in magistros theologos* gepriesen wurde¹³. Durch diesen zweiten aktuellen Bezug, der nur durch den Krakauer Codex erhalten ist, wird die Gegend von Pavia als Entstehungsort für die Komödie gesichert; denn nur,

¹¹ E. Cecchini in der Rezension des Buches von Stäuble (s. Anm. 1) RivFil 98, 1970, 482; vor ihm schon Sanesi, I, 141, der den Namen ebenso wie Creizenach I, 545 Anm. 1 als Leonardo de la sernata liest. Creizenach druckt dort auch die subscriptio ab: »Et sic est finis hujus nove comedie que polliscena intitulatur et fugit composita apostata per me leonardum de la sernata de noisted [?noisell?] in civitate tuniarum. anno dñi 1433 de mense novembri videt in castro turris rotunde«. Die Buchstabengröße in der Handschrift ist zwar gegenüber der Dicke der Federstriche ungewöhnlich klein, in meinem Exemplar ist aber deutlich hinter dem zweiten 1 des von Creizenach nicht sicher gelesenen Wortes ein i zu erkennen. Zudem ist bei diesem Wort infolge der Dicke der Feder nicht leicht zu entscheiden, ob es sich bei dem 2. Buchstaben um ein o oder e handelt, der 3. Buchstabe ist sicher als ein r und nicht als ein i zu lesen. Das n am Anfang ist verlesenes u für v. Nicht berücksichtigt hat Creizenach ein Kürzel nach 'rotunde', das folgendermaßen aussieht:  und dessen Bedeutung mir auch nicht klar ist. Jedenfalls ist der Name Sernata richtig gelesen, der in der Form 'ser nata' mit dem typischen Kürzel für 'ser' geschrieben wurde.

¹² Der Einfachheit halber behalte ich die Zählung nach Akten und Szenen bei, obwohl sie in der Mehrzahl der Handschriften und so auch im Krakauer Codex fehlt. A. Chassang, *Des essais dramatiques, imités de l'antiquité au 14^e et 15^e siècle* (Paris, 1852), S. 104, vertrat die irrige Ansicht, daß Akt- und Szeneneinteilung auf den Autor der *Poliscena* zurückgingen. Das ist für die Akteinteilung sicher falsch, zumal die vorhandenen Aktgrenzen keineswegs immer dem natürlichen Handlungsverlauf entsprechen (vgl. u. Anm. 49). Dagegen kann man mit Sicherheit davon ausgehen, daß das Original eine Szeneneinteilung, aber keine durchlaufende Szenenzählung besessen hat. So schon G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy. A Study in Popular Entertainment* (Princeton/N. J., 1952), 398; vgl. Sanesi, I, 763; Stäuble, S. 14, 155-157.

¹³ Sanesi, I, 106 und G. Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im 16. Jahrhundert. I: Italien und der deutsche Humanismus in der neulateinischen Lyrik* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), S. 29, 32.

wenn man die Statue kannte, war eine solche Beziehung sinnvoll. Als die Komödie später dann in den außeritalischen Raum gelangte, wurde der Bezug auf das Reiterstandbild unbedeutend und der Text in die allgemeinverständliche Form geändert. Durch diesen gesicherten Bezug auf Pavia bekommt aber auch die Anspielung auf Gasparino de Barzizza einen neuen Stellenwert, da Gasparino dort 1392 das Bakkalaureat erwarb, und nachdem er in Mailand zunächst keine Anstellung bekommen konnte, sich für einige Zeit in Pavia niedergelassen hatte, bis er 1407 in Padua zum öffentlichen Professor für Rhetorik und Moralphilosophie gewählt wurde¹⁴. Damit reiht sich also die *Poliscena* in die an der Universität zu Pavia gepflegte Tradition neulateinischer Humanistenkomödien ein¹⁵.

Zwei weitere Besonderheiten des Krakauer Codex sind das umfangreichere 'Prohemium' von 30 Hexametern, das in den übrigen Codices, wo diese Bezeichnung auftaucht, nur 12 Verse umfaßt, und das Fehlen eines sonst auf das 'Prohemium' folgenden 'Argumentum', das eine wenig informierende und offenbar später hinzugefügte Inhaltsangabe enthält¹⁶. Die Bezeichnung 'Prohemium', die im Krakauer Codex nicht vorhanden ist, ist nicht sehr glücklich gewählt, da es sich hierbei vielmehr um einen Prolog handelt, wie wir ihn — von der hexametrischen Form einmal abgesehen — aus den Komödien des Terenz kennen, in dem sich der Dichter unmittelbar an seinen Leser wendet¹⁷. Darüber hinaus enthält die Handschrift eine ganze Reihe weiterer Sonderlesarten, aber auch Textauslassungen und -zusätze sowie Sonderfehler, so daß sie nicht selbst von Leonardo de la Serrata geschrieben sein kann, sondern nur eine sehr frühe Abschrift vielleicht nicht einmal unmittelbar vom Original selbst darstellt¹⁸.

¹⁴ Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung*, I, 220-221; Beutler, S. 12.

¹⁵ Stäuble, S. 204-206; Creizenach, I, 547-549, 569; II, 28. — Creizenachs (I, 541) und Bahlmanns (S. 21) Datierungen der *Poliscena* auf 1395 dürften demnach zu früh sein.

¹⁶ Darauf hat Cecchini, S. 482 hingewiesen.

¹⁷ Vgl. V. 20 : »*Que mea musa notat nec despice credere lector*«; das setzt also schon voraus, daß das Stück als Lesedrama konzipiert ist. Innerhalb des Stückes scheint dem eine Stelle zu widersprechen. Im Auftrittsmonolog des Macharius (II, 2) heißt es : »*Sed videte, cives, videte cicatrices meas*«, doch dürften diese Worte nur gewählt sein, um die dramatische Fiktion aufrechtzuerhalten. Die Hexameter des Prologs sind im übrigen die einzigen Verse. Die Komödie selbst ist, anders als Vergerios *Paulus*, in Prosa geschrieben.

¹⁸ Ich hoffe, an anderer Stelle eine kritische Ausgabe mit Übersetzung der *Poliscena*

Über den Autor war bisher wenig bekannt. Wir kennen ihn nur aus einem Streit zwischen Enea Silvio de Piccolomini, dem späteren Papst Pius II., mit den Mailändern um die Propstei an der Kirche S. Lorenzo Maggiore. Der Erzbischof von Mailand, Francesco de Picciolpassi, hatte sie Enea Silvio am 22. März 1436 verliehen, als dieser sich noch beim Basler Konzil aufhielt. Auf ein Gerücht hin, Enea sei in Basel an der dort im Juli 1439 ausgebrochenen Pest gestorben, hatte Papst Eugen IV. mit Einwilligung Filippo Maria Viscontis, des Herzogs von Mailand, diese Pfründe an seinen Neffen Leonardo de la Serrata vergeben, und Enea versuchte vergebens, durch Vermittlung von Guiniforte Barzizza, dem Sekretär Filippo Viscontis, in diese Propstei wieder eingesetzt zu werden. Selbst der Versuch König Friedrich III., sich bei dem Herzog von Mailand für Enea Silvio einzusetzen, war ebenso erfolglos wie das Bemühen seines Sekretärs Kaspar Schlick. Immerhin ist uns aus dem Briefwechsel in dieser Angelegenheit der volle Name des Autors der *Poliscena* und seine Standesbezeichnung als 'clericus Vercellensis' bestätigt. Jetzt ist es G. Nonni gelungen, Leonardo della Serrata zusätzlich aus Vatikanischen Quellen als Kämmerer Papst Eugen IV. sowie als familiaris Kardinal Francesco Condulmers näher zu identifizieren ¹⁹.

1471 erscheint Leonardo noch einmal als 'prepositus ecclesie sancti Barnabe extra muros Mediolani', dann hören wir nichts mehr von ihm ²⁰.

vorlegen zu können, die sich in der Hauptsache auf die Krakauer Handschrift der Bibl. Jagell. stützt.

¹⁹ G. Nonni, »Documenti intorno all' umanista vercellese Leonardo della Serrata«, *Giornale italiano di filologia*, N.S. V (XXVI), 3 (1974), 278-294. Zum Verlust der Mailänder praepositura vgl. *Bartholomei Platinensis vita Pii II pontificis maximi*, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al mille cinquecento ordinata da L. A. Muratori, Nuova ed. rived., ampliata e corr. iniziata da G. Carducci e V. Fiorini. Continuata a cura dell'Ist. stor. ital. per il medio evo. Tomo III parte III : *Le vite di Pio II di Giovanni Antonio Campano e Bartolomeo Platina* (Bologna, 1964), 11. 98-99; *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, hrsg. von R. Wolkan. I. Abt. : *Briefe aus der Laienzeit (1431-1445)*. Bd. I : *Privatbriefe*; Bd. II : *Amtliche Briefe* (Wien, 1909) I, 117-118 : 40. Brief. Eneas Silvius an Guiniforte Barzizza in Mailand, Feldkirch, 5. Dez. 1442; II, 41-42 : 22. Brief. K. Friedrich an den Herzog von Mailand, Wien, Anfang Juli 1443; II, 104 : 57. Brief. Kaspar Schlick an Uguccio dei Contrari in Mailand, Wien, 17. Okt. 1443; II, 120 : 70. Brief. K. Friedrich an den Herzog von Mailand, St. Veit, 15. Jan. 1444; I, 119 : 41. Brief. Eneas Silvius an den Erzbischof von Mailand, Francesco Pizzolpasso, Feldkirch, 5. Dez. 1442; vgl. Voigt, *Enea Silvio* I, 148-149, 168-169, 291-292; III, 614.

²⁰ Diese Nachricht findet sich in einer handschriftlichen Notiz zum Meßbuch von S. Barnabas bei R. Amiet, 'La Tradition du missel Ambrosien', *Scriptorium*

Die *Poliscena* dürfte also nach dem letztgenannten Datum wie die meisten der humanistischen Komödien ein Jugendwerk Leonardos sein, der sonst literarisch nicht weiter an die Öffentlichkeit getreten ist. Das wird der Grund dafür sein, daß seine Komödie in der Folgezeit als Pseud-epigraphum unter dem berühmteren Namen Leonardo Brunis außerhalb Italiens zu eigenem Ansehen gelangte ²¹.

— Inhalt und Verhältnis zu Plautus und Terenz.

Wenn wir uns nun der Interpretation der Komödie zuwenden und damit zugleich der Frage nach ihrem Verhältnis zu Stücken des Plautus und Terenz, so müssen wir dabei stärker als üblich auch auf den Inhalt der *Poliscena* eingehen, da ein allgemein zugänglicher Lesetext nicht existiert.

Im Mittelpunkt der Handlung steht, wie schon der Titel verrät, das Mädchen Poliscena. Sie ist das Ziel der schließlich erfolgreichen Bemühungen des adulescens Graccus. Ihr Name dürfte zweifelsfrei die lateinische Form der griechischen Πολυξένη sein, der aus der nachhomerischen Dichtung bekannten Tochter des Priamos und der Hekabe, ohne daß dieser Mythos in unserem Stück eine Rolle spielte. Die Wahl dieses Komödientitels hatte sicherlich einen gewissen Verfremdungseffekt, der das Interesse wecken sollte; denn die Geschichte der Eroberung Trojas und insbesondere das Schicksal der Trojanerinnen war abgesehen von der Überlieferung durch Ovid und damit durch Dante einerseits und der lateinischen Übersetzung in der *Historia de excidio Troiae* des

XIV (1960), 16-60, wo es S. 51 zu Milan, Bibl. Ambrosienne, cod A 262 inf. auf f. A^v heißt : *1471 hunc librum, missale nuncupatum, juxta ritum beatissimi patris nostri Ambrosii, emit venerabilis pater Leonardus de la Strata de Vercellis, prepositus ecclesie sancti Barnabe extra muros Mediolani, pretio librarum centum imperialium, quem dedicavit servitutum ipsi ecclesie sancti Barnabe...* Die Namensform 'Strata' für Serrata dürfte auf der falschen Auflösung des Kürzels für 'ser' (s.o. Anm. 11) beruhen. Den Hinweis auf die Arbeit von Amiet danke ich der freundlichen Auskunft des *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des textes* am *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* in Paris.

²¹ Vgl. V. 7 des 'Prohemium' : »... *ego discipulus nec me proferre poetam/velim*«. Zu den prosodischen Anstößen in den Hexametern vgl. Chassang, S. 102. Im Gegensatz zu Leonardo de la Serrata legt Bruni auf Prosodie und auch rhythmische Prosa großen Wert; vgl. dazu sein Werk *De Studiis et litteris* (bei Beck, S. 33-34). — Es gibt eine ganze Reihe von Bruni fälschlicherweise zugeschriebenen Werken, so z.B. auch Vergerios pädagogischer Traktat *Ad Ubertinum de Carraria de ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis adolescentiae liber*; vgl. Mehus, S. 61; Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, II, 291

Dares Phrygius andererseits dem humanistisch gebildeten Publikum auch in der direkten lateinischen Übersetzung des euripideischen Hekabe-Dramas zugänglich, die, wie Pertusi nachgewiesen hat, als lateinische Interlinearversion zum griechischen Text in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts von Leontius Pilatus, der mit Petrarca und Boccaccio befreundet war, angefertigt wurde²². W. O. Schmitt hat kürzlich darauf hingewiesen, daß die *Hekabe* des Euripides wohl wegen ihres 'senecaischen Charakters' das im Quattrocento am meisten übersetzte und somit bekannteste Drama war²³. Daß sie das erste Stück der byzantinischen Tragödien-trias war, hat diesen Umstand mit Sicherheit begünstigt, zumal bereits die Lektüre des Euripides im byzantinischen Unterricht mit diesem Drama begann²⁴.

Die übrigen Personen des Stückes tragen ebenfalls bekannte Namen aus der Antike; so Calphurnia, die Mutter Poliscenas, den der Tochter des Konsuls von 58 v. Chr., L. Calpurnius Piso, mit anderen Worten den der Gemahlin Caesars, ohne daß auch diese historische Reminiszenz eine Rolle in der Komödie spielte. Ebenso verhält es sich bei dem adulescens Graccus, bei dem man an die beiden berühmten Volkstribunen erinnert wird, denen er freilich bei seinem überaus ängstlichen Gemüt alles andere als ähnlich ist. Sein Sklave Gurgulio hat zwar im plautinischen Curculio, der ja selbst kein Sklave war (*Curc.*, 624), einen illustren Namensvetter, jedoch sonst überhaupt nichts mit diesem Parasiten gemeinsam. Von der für Curculio charakteristischen Gefräßigkeit ist bei Gurgulio lediglich nach seinem letzten Auftritt in II, 1 eine Abgangsformel übriggeblieben: »*Abeo ac visam primum, si quid in triclinio et patenis siet, quod degluciam*«. Eher wird man jedoch an dieser Stelle

²² Der Anklang von Dantes *Inferno* 30, 13-20 an Ovid, *Met.* 13, 567-575 ist deutlich. — A. Pertusi, 'La scoperta di Euripide nel primo umanesimo', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, III (1960), 145; Id., *Leontius Pilatus fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Venedig-Rom, 1964), Ss. 113-117; vgl. J. H. Wazink, 'Einige Beobachtungen über die Euripidesübersetzungen des Erasmus und ihre historische Situation', *Antike und Abendland*, XVII (1971), 78-80.

²³ W. O. Schmitt, 'Zwei lateinische 'Hekabe'-Übersetzungen vom Jahre 1506. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte humanistischer Übersetzungen in der Renaissance', in: *Die gesellschaftliche Bedeutung des antiken Dramas für seine und für unsere Zeit. Protokoll der Karl-Marx-Städter Fachtagung vom 29. bis 31.10.1969*, hrsg. von W. Hofmann und H. Kuch (Berlin, 1973), S. 243.

²⁴ P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man and other Essays* (New York, 1972) S. 74-75; Wazink, S. 78, Anm. 22 (dort Verweis auf Kristeller, 'Umanesimo italiano e Bisanzio', *Lettere italiane* XVI (1964) S. 8).

an die Abgangsformel Sangas, eines Koches des Thraso aus dem terenzischen *Eunuchus* denken (V. 816) : »iamdudum animus est in patinis«²⁵. Immerhin beweist der Name, daß der Verfasser der *Poliscena* den plautinischen *Curculio* kannte.

Das zeigt sich in verschiedenen, an die Komödie des Plautus erinnern- den Motiven und Situationen. Sieht man einmal von dem verstümmelten Anfang der *Bacchides* ab, so ist der *Curculio* bei Plautus das erste Stück ohne einen Prolog und beginnt daher in der ersten Szene wie die *Poliscena* mit einem exponierenden Dialog zwischen dem adulescens und seinem Sklaven. Leonardos 'Prohemium' kann man dabei außer acht lassen, weil es für das Verständnis des Stückes nichts beiträgt und darin mehr an die terenzischen Prologe erinnert. Das im Zusammenhang mit dem Krakauer Codex erwähnte Motiv der goldenen Statue findet in *Curc.* 140 und 439 gleich eine doppelte Entsprechung. Wie die Leaena (*Curc.*, 76 ff.) wird auch die anus Tharatantara als Mittlerin eingesetzt, um zu dem erwünschten Ziel zu gelangen, und diese ist wie die »multibiba atque merobiba Leaena« (*Curc.*, 77) ebenfalls dem Wein nicht abhold (II 1 : »meo bacchatur libero«). Mit der Klage des leno Cappadox in dessen Auftrittsmonolog. (*Curc.*, 216 ff.) über labor und valetudo ist die Klage von Graccus' Vater Macharius in seinem Auftrittsmonolog (II, 2) über den labor militiae und den labor auf dem Landgut vergleichbar. Macharius' Klage über seine finanzielle Lage bei seinem zweiten Auftritt (III,3) entspricht wiederum der Situation in dem Auftrittsmonolog des Wechslers Lyco (*Curc.*, 371 ff.), ohne daß aber die Charaktere und Rollen der beiden übereinstimmen. Gerade die Gestalt des Macharius ist gegenüber den aus Plautus und Terenz bekannten 'typischen' Komödienvätern durch viele aktuelle Anspielungen besonders stark umgestaltet. Für seinen Namen gibt es kein direktes antikes Vorbild, doch klingt in ihm das griechische Lehnwort 'machaera' mit, das als zum dramatischen Wortschatz gehörig gut bezeugt ist²⁶. Macharius

²⁵ Der Hinweis auf den plautinischen *Curculio* auf Grund der Namensgleichheit von Graccus' Sklaven findet sich schon bei Creizenach I, 543, Sanesi, I 143 und in neuerer Zeit bei Duckworth, S. 398, Stäuble, Ss. 15, 172, Radcliff-Umstead, S. 32 sowie bei M. T. Herrick, *Italian Comedy in the Renaissance* (Urbana-London 1966), S. 18. Keine Rolle spielt die bei Persius, *Sat.*, 4. 38 belegte Bedeutung für 'gurgulio' als 'membrum virile' trotz der oben erwähnten Persiusreminiszenz. Zur Gefräßigkeit des plautinischen Parasiten vgl. *Curc.*, 228, 252, 309, 313, 316, 318-325, 350, 358, 366 ff., 384-388, 600, 664.

²⁶ z.B. Ennius, *Trag.* 212 (149); Caecilius, *Com.* 69 (*Poetarum Romanorum veterum reliquiae*. Selegit E. Diehl. 5. Aufl., [Berlin, 1961]); Plautus, *Bacch.* 68; *Curc.*, 424, 567.

wäre also der 'Schwertgewaltige' und er rühmt sich auch bei seinem ersten Auftritt in II, 2 wie ein echter *Miles gloriosus* seiner Kriegstaten, allerdings — und darin unterscheidet er sich von allen *milites gloriosi* der römischen Komödie — hat er inzwischen die Plackereien des Kriegshandwerks tüchtig satt und betreibt Landwirtschaft. Daß sich dies als eine Anspielung auf die aktuelle Veteranensituation des 15. Jahrhunderts verstehen läßt, können wir einem Brief Enea Silvios an seinen Onkel Nanni de Tolomei, der auch Soldat gewesen ist und sich nun in seinen alten Tagen dem Land- und Gartenbau hingibt, entnehmen ²⁷.

Zehn Minen spielen bei dem plautinischen Kuppler (*Curc.*, 525) die gleiche Rolle wie in der *Poliscena* III, 1, wo die Dienerin im Auftrag von Graccus diesen Betrag für das Mädchen in der Bestechungsszene Calphurnia anbietet. Eine Berichterstattung als indirekte Handlungsfortführung finden wir *Curc.*, 320 ff. wie auch in der 1. Szene des letzten Aktes von Leonardos Stück, freilich nur als Methode und ohne inhaltliche Entsprechungen. Dagegen taucht das obszöne Motiv *Curc.*, 295 in der *Poliscena* II, 1 breit ausgeführt auf und die Dionysia (*Curc.*, 644) sind am Schluß von III, 3 für Macharius der Vorwand, die Szene zu verlassen. Wenn in der letzten Szene Calphurnia für das ihr zugefügte Unrecht Macharius vor Gericht bringen will (V 2 : »*me in ius provocaturam illum*«), dann hat sicher *Curc.* 683, ein Vers ebenfalls aus der letzten Szene des plautinischen Stückes, als Vorbild gedient.

Am deutlichsten wird jedoch die plautinische Vorlage dort sichtbar, wo Leonardo sie aus Gründen der Konzession an das aktuelle Verständnis ändert. Das ist in II, 1 der Fall, wo Graccus Gurgulio für einen guten Einfall lobt und sagt : »*Plus quam talentum magnum, immo ducenta nunc te non venundarem, Gurgulio!*« Neben der schwächeren Phormioreminiszenz (*Phorm.*, 644) ist hier *Curc.* 63 f. als Vorlage verwendet. An beiden Stellen beruht der Witz darauf, daß eine zunächst genannte Summe sofort verdoppelt wird : bei Plautus »*alias triginta minas, alias talentum magnum*« (sc. sexaginta minas), bei Leonardo, der die Währungsrelation 1 Talent = 60 (attische) Minen nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten für das Verständnis übernehmen konnte, wird das Talent 100 Einheiten einer nicht genannten nächst kleineren Währungseinheit gleichgesetzt (man beachte das Neutrum 'ducenta') und diese werden nun ihrerseits verdoppelt. Bei dieser Umsetzung geht die plautinische Pointe verloren, daß

²⁷ Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, II, 296.

es sich im *Curculio* bei den 30 Minen um den Festpreis für eine meretrix handelte, der hier willkürlich ins Doppelte überhöht wird²⁸, — eine Pointe, mit der Leonardo in seinem Zusammenhang gar nichts anfangen konnte.

Die Verwendung plautinischer Vorlagen bestätigt sich uns durch den Schluß der Komödie, der dem *Cistellaria*-Schluß nachgestaltet ist. Die *Poliscena* hört nämlich mit der üblichen Aufforderung an das Publikum auf: »*Vos valete et plaudite*« — das ist noch Terenz (*Heaut.*, 1067; *Eun.*, 1094; *Phorm.*, 1055) —, um dann nach *Cist.*, 782 fortzufahren: »*nec exspectetis nupcias ac himeneum parari. Omnia intus rite et solemniter expedientur*«.

Dieser kurze Vergleich mag als Beweis dafür genügen, daß der Autor der *Poliscena* die genannten plautinischen Motive und Situationen in seinem Stück verarbeitet hat. Doch sollte dies nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß Terenz, wie ein vollständiger Vergleich des Vokabulars der Komödie mit dem Index Terentianus von Jenkins²⁹ ergeben hat, in einem weit stärkeren Umfang als Plautus die materielle Basis für die Komödiensprache der *Poliscena* darstellt; dabei können wenige Ausnahmen, die sich auf christliche Begriffe und Belege aus Cicero, Ovid und einigen späteren Autoren beschränken, außer Betracht bleiben. Zudem geht in dem Stück oft Griechisch-Römisches aus der Mythologie und Christliches bunt durcheinander, wie etwa das folgende Beispiel (IV, 2): »*Pridie, dum una cum matre pedetentim proficiscebaris tua ad Sancti Francisci oraculum auditum fratres Orci Acherontis ac Lethes portenta balantes prope incredibilia*«. Neben den aus der römischen Komödiensprache bekannten Anrufen der von Thierfelder treffend mit 'Not-helfer' bezeichneten Heroen Pollux und Hercules 'per pol', 'edepol' und 'hercle'³⁰ finden wir in der gleichen Funktion wiederholt verwendete

²⁸ E. Fantham, 'The *Curculio* of Plautus: An Illustration of Plautine Methods in Adaption', *Classical Quarterly* 15 (1965), 84-100; jetzt in: *Die römische Komödie: Plautus und Terenz*, hrsg. von E. Lefèvre, Wege der Forschung, 236, (Darmstadt, 1973), 178, zitiert *Epid.*, 703, *Mostell.*, 300, *Rudens*, 45 und *Frg.* 123 L. als Belege für den üblichen Kaufpreis von 30 Minen für eine meretrix. Aus dem *Curculio* ließen sich noch V. 344, 492, 535 und 666 hinzufügen. Bei Fantham, S. 178 Anm. 7 findet sich auch der Hinweis zu 'talentum magnum' auf den Artikel von H. J. Rose, *Classical Review* 38 (1924), 155-157.

²⁹ E. B. Jenkins, *Index verborum Terentianus* (Hildesheim, 1962 [Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1931]).

³⁰ A. Thierfelder, 'Antike Komödien - heute gespielt', *Nachrichten der Gießener Hochschulgesellschaft XXI* (1952), 100-121, jetzt in: *Die Römische Komödie*, S. 472-485.

Beteuerungsformeln 'proch deum clemenciam', 'ita me salvet Iesus' und 'per eum, quem colimus deum'. Auch der Götteranruf Calphurnias bei der Prozeßdrohung am Schluß des Stückes ist so zu verstehen (V, 2) : »o Jupiter, o Juno, o Lucina, o celum omne! Verum tibi edico, Machari, decrevi extemplo uti forol!«³¹

Darin spiegelt sich in der Sprache der Komödie die bei den Humanisten des 15. Jahrhunderts selbstverständliche Einheit von christlicher Theologie, antiker Philosophie und Mythologie wider, soweit deren angeblich gemeinsamer Offenbarungsgehalt angesprochen ist. Dieser Synkretismus erfuhr seine prägnanteste Ausprägung gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts in der geforderten Vereinigung von Griechentum, Christentum und Judentum bei Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Daher hat dieses für uns, von der römischen Komödie her gesehen, befremdliche Phänomen seine Ursachen in der philosophischen Tradition des italienischen Humanismus³².

Von dem gängigen Handlungstypus der römischen Komödie, bei dem ein senex als Vater um sein Geld, ein Kuppler um ein Mädchen bzw. dessen Kaufsumme oder ein mehr oder weniger unsympathischer Rivale des adulescens um bestehende Ansprüche mit Hilfe einer oder mehrerer Intrigen durch Sklaven geprellt zu werden pflegen, damit ein Jüngling, der zum Intrigieren selbst zu wenig raffiniert und zum Erwerb des ersehnten Mädchens zu wenig bemittelt ist, doch noch sein Ziel erreicht, ist bei der *Poliscena* nur wenig übriggeblieben. Graccus hat Poliscena mit ihrer Mutter Calphurnia auf dem Heimweg von der Minoritenkirche gesehen, dabei durch eine Öffnung im Schleier die Schönheit des Mädchens erblickt und sich sofort in sie verliebt.

Diese Begegnung schildert er uns in der ersten Szene des ersten Aktes, den ich ausführlicher als die übrigen behandeln werde, weil er mit fünf Szenen der umfangreichste der ganzen Komödie ist und für ihre Exposition zu sorgen hat. In dem Monolog der 1. Szene, der nur durch a partesprochene Bemerkungen Gurgulios unterbrochen wird, erfahren wir, daß Calphurnia für Graccus, um zu Poliscena zu gelangen, ein unüberwindbares Hindernis darzustellen scheint : »*Nam ipsam* (sc. Poliscenam) *in gremio propemodum fovet, sub cuius imperio est, mater improbissima*«.

³¹ Sanesi, I, 142.

³² S. Dresden, *Humanismus und Renaissance* (München, 1968), S. 36-48; J. Hirschberger, *Geschichte der Philosophie. II : Neuzeit und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl. (Freiburg, 1960) S. 11.

Der wörtliche Bezug auf *Heaut.* 233 zeigt die nachgestaltete Situation : Clinias, der Sohn des Menedemus, argwöhnt bei Terenz in seiner Liebesleidenschaft, jemand könnte in seiner Abwesenheit das Mädchen verführt haben; denn er hat viele Anhaltspunkte für diesen Verdacht : »*occasio locus aetas mater quoi(u)s sub imperio st mala, / quoi nil iam praeter pretium dulcest*«. Neben der Charakterisierung der Gemütsverfassung des Graccus wird für den terenzkundigen Leser damit schon auf die Verführung Poliscenas und auch auf einen Weg dazu hingewiesen. Wir werden noch sehen, wie das hier anklingende Motiv einer möglichen Bestechung bei Leonardo zum Tragen kommt. Deutlich wird bereits eine Umformung der Vorlage : was bei Terenz in dieser Situation nur Verdacht ist, wird in der *Poliscena* zu einem strukturierenden Element der Handlung umgestaltet.

Auf ein zweites Vorbild für die Darstellung der plötzlichen Verliebttheit des Graccus stoßen wir außerdem bei der des Chaerea im *Eunuchus*; dort hatte Chaerea beobachtet, wie der Parasit Gnatho die Pamphila in das Haus der Thais führt, hatte sich Hals über Kopf in das Mädchen verliebt und war im Begriff, den beiden zu folgen, als ihn unglücklicherweise ein Bekannter einer Gefälligkeit wegen ansprach und ihn so an der weiteren Verfolgung seines Zieles hinderte. Das quittiert Chaerea in seinem Bericht mit einem kräftigen Fluch (V. 302) : »*ut illum di deaeque senium perdant, qui me hodie remoratus est*«; so flucht auch Graccus auf Calphurnia, die ja ihrerseits für ihn das entscheidende Hindernis ist, um sein Ziel zu erreichen (I, 1) : »*quam dii deaeque omnes emori faxint, Calphurnia*« (vgl. *Curc.*, 720).

Im *Eunuchus* fleht dann Chaerea den Sklaven Parmeno um Beistand in seiner Situation an (V, 319) : »*ipsam hanc tu mihi vel vi vel clam vel precario / fac tradas : mea nil refert, dum potiar modo*«; bei Leonardo bittet entsprechend Graccus Gurgulio um Hilfe, den er ins Vertrauen gezogen hat (I, 3) : »*Hanc equidem michi uxorem dari aut alia via potiri expeto*«. Wie Chaerea später vor Thais (*Eun.*, 888) zu seiner Tat steht und bittet, ihm Pamphila zur Frau zu geben : »*emoriar si non hanc uxorem duxero*«, so tut es auch Graccus mittelbar durch Tharatantara Poliscena gegenüber. Davon berichtet die Alte (V, 1) : »*Dico te emori, nisi aut nuptui collocetur aut precio aut precario pociundi facultas praebeatur, decrevisse*«.

Leonardo hat damit seine Vorlage aus dem *Eunuchus* (V, 888) durch die Elemente 'pretio' aus dem *Heaut.* 234 und 'precario' aus der früheren *Eunuchus*-Stelle (V. 319) erweitert. Beide Erweiterungen entspringen inhaltlichen Motivationen : mit 'pretio' wird auf Tharatantaras Mission

bei Calphurnia, d.h. den Bestechungsversuch, mit 'precario' auf ihre Vermittlerrolle bei Poliscena und damit auf ihre 'ciceronianische' Beredsamkeit Bezug genommen.

Zwischen I, 1 und I, 3 liegt ein Monolog der Poliscena, in dem sie in einer, an den Verhältnissen der römischen Komödie gemessen, revolutionären Weise ihr Schicksal und die doppelbödige Moral ihrer Zeit beklagt: voller Strenge sperre man die Mädchen von der Außenwelt ab, um ihre Keuschheit zu bewahren. Statt dessen sollte man doch lieber die Männer einsperren! Den Mädchen sei lediglich der Kirchgang erlaubt, um sich das Gerede der Mönche von den Wunderdingen in Himmel und Hölle anzuhören (I, 2): »*fratrum audire confabulaciones, portenta inferorum superiorumque in pulpito proclamantium*«. Dabei werden die armen Mädchen von ganz anderen Höllenqualen gepeinigt, wenn sich ihr jugendliches Alter bemerkbar macht und ihnen unterwegs die Jünglinge lüsterne Blicke zuwerfen und anzügliche Bemerkungen machen. Seitdem sie sich in Graccus verliebt hat, ist sie zum passiven Widerstand gegen ihr Los fest entschlossen, d.h. sie wird ab sofort in ihren häuslichen Pflichten streiken, bis sie den Jüngling wiedersehen darf: »*Neque quippiam faciam operis neque nebo neque lectulos sternam neque supellectilem abstergam neque vestes resarciam, donec illum ipsum visam adolescentulum, qui me hodie prae amore exanimatam fecit*«.

Für die Exposition des Stückes ist damit so viel erreicht, daß sich Graccus und Poliscena, ohne miteinander gesprochen zu haben, in ihrem Wollen einig sind. Die Frage bleibt daher nur, wie sie zueinander finden werden, da ja die 'mater improbissima' noch zwischen ihnen steht.

Schaut man sich nach den Quellen für die Motive dieses so ganz und gar 'emanzipatorischen' Monologes um, so bietet sich am ehesten, da ja hier die römische Komödie nicht als Vorlage in Frage kommt, neben Erzählungen des *Decamerone* Boccaccios die Madrigaldichtung des 14. Jahrhunderts und die zeitgenössische Strambotti- und Canzonettendichtung an, so daß wir es also in diesem Monolog mit Motiven der italienischen populären Erotik und der Volkspoesie zu tun haben ³³.

³³ Vgl. z.B. die 4. und 5. Erzählung des 5. Tages in Boccaccios *Decamerone*. Daß das Thema unserer Komödie auch das einer Novelle hätte sein können, darauf macht Stäuble, S. 165 aufmerksam; vgl. Radcliff-Umstead, S. 33 und Herrick, S. 16: »Novelle and folk tales... also contributed subject matter to humanistic comedy«. In dem Madrigal *In pena vivo qui sola soletta* des Florentiners Alesso di Guido Donati, einem Zeitgenossen Francesco Landinis (1325-1397), zeigt sich z.B. ein Mädchen

Zudem ist hier bereits der Einfluß der mittelalterlichen Komödie unverkennbar, wenn die Rolle des Parmeno im *Eunuchus* bei der Inszenierung der Intrige von Leonardo auf den Sklaven Gurgulio und die alte Dienerin Tharatantara aufgeteilt wird, ohne daß es jedoch dabei in der *Poliscena* zu einer wirklichen Intrige kommt. Allerdings kompliziert sich die Situation für Graccus dadurch, daß neben der 'mater improbis-sima' in der Gestalt seines Vaters ein weiteres Hindernis sichtbar wird (I, 3): »*Proinde nosti*«, so sagt er nämlich zu Gurgulio, »*pater quam sit vafer; ad omne facinus refertus rimarum est intellectu*«. Dieses Oxy-moron 'refertus rimarum' ist wieder eine Reminiszenz einer Situation aus dem *Eunuchus*, wo Parmeno in dem Dreiergespräch zwischen Thais, Phaedria und sich in bezug auf die ihm abgeforderte Verschwiegenheit sagt (V. 105): »*plenus rimarum sum*«, wenn die Hetäre nicht bei der Wahrheit bleibt! Er knüpft also Bedingungen an sein Einverständnis zu schweigen. Diesen Sinn kann die Metapher in der *Poliscena* natürlich nicht haben, sondern wir müssen hier trotz des unverkennbaren Terenz-zitates so interpretieren, daß Macharius, gewitzt, wie er ist (vafer), was seinen Einfallsreichtum betrifft (intellectu), hundert Auswege weiß, d.h. auf hundert Schliche kommt (refertus rimarum est), ganz gleich, worum es sich handelt (ad omne facinus); d.h. Macharius ist in seiner

ebenso wie Poliscena darüber empört, daß ihre Mutter sie eingeschlossen hält (vgl. u. Anm. 48), und sie schwört, sich von der lästigen Alten zu befreien; vgl. Gaspary, II, 81. Daß dieser Topos schon recht früh Eingang in die mittelalterliche Komödie gefunden hat, zeigt *De nuncio sagaci* 162: »*si mater sciret, manibus lacerata perirem*«, eine Komödie eines unbekannten Autors des 11. Jahrhunderts; vgl. A. Dain in der 'Notice' S. 110 der in Anm. 38 zitierten Ausgabe. In dem Strambotto *Donna, io m'apresento* Lionardo Giustinianis (1388-1446) finden wir das Motiv, daß das Mädchen ihrem Liebhaber die Kirche und den Tag bezeichnet, an dem sie dorthin geht und er sie sehen kann, und in zwei weiteren Strambotti desselben Dichters *L'Altreri in gran secreto* und *O tu, che sey compagna dela madona mia* finden wir Diener und Mägde, die wie Tharatantara durch Versprechungen bewogen werden, sich als Vermittler zwischen den Liebenden zur Verfügung zu stellen (*Poesie di Lionardo Giustiniani*, ed. B. Wiese (Bologna, 1883) Nr. 33 und 42; vgl. Gaspary, II, 183). Radcliff-Umstead, S. 33 verweist auf den 'prototype' der alten Kupplerin in der Rolle Tharatantaras in der Erzählung *De canicula lacrimante* aus der *Disciplina clericalis* des Petrus Alphonsus (1062-1110). — Mit dem Nachweis der Herkunft dieser Motive aus der Volkspoesie (Perosa, *Teatro umanistico*, S. 20 spricht von »contatto colla novellistica contemporanea«) fällt auch die These Sanesis, I, 141, Ugolino Pisani habe in seiner 1437 entstandenen *Philogenia* in dem I, 2 der *Poliscena* entsprechenden Monolog des Mädchens unsere Komödie zum Vorbild genommen. Beide Stücke haben sonst überhaupt keine Berührungspunkte.

Schläue unberechenbar und somit gefährlich. Damit ist 'refertus rimarum' vollkommen anders als bei Terenz epexegetisch zu 'vafer' zu verstehen, und das bedeutet, daß Leonardo souverän in der sprachlichen Anwendung seiner lateinischen Vorlage verfährt, deren Sprachmaterial er übernimmt, ohne sich dabei auch zugleich an dessen Sinn gebunden zu fühlen. Dazu werden sich noch weitere Beispiele finden.

Mit solchen Aussichten auf die 'mater nequam' einerseits und den 'pater severus' andererseits scheint das Ansinnen des Graccus an Gurgulio diesem eine dornige Angelegenheit zu sein, zumal es sich obendrein bei Poliscena, wie er unter Anspielung auf *Heaut.* 226 feststellt, um eine 'virgo expers artis meretricie' (I, 3) handelt. Und noch etwas Bedenkliches fällt ihm ein: Was kannst du dem Mädchen bieten? '*Quid illi trades? Praeter moncium aureorum pollicitaciones habes nichil!*' Dieses letzte Motiv, das in I, 5 von Tharatantara noch einmal aufgegriffen wird (*pollicebitur aureos montes*), stammt aus dem Anfang des *Phormio* (V. 68), wo Geta zu Davos sagt: »*is senem per epistulas pellexit modo non montis auri pollicens*«. Doch Graccus kann Gurgulio auf dessen skeptischen Einwand hin beruhigen; denn er hat gespart: »*Nescis, quantum patre inscio ex horreis, ex penu, ex colonis corradam?*«³⁴ Auch hier haben wir in dem 'corradam' eine Reminiszenz aus dem *Phormio*, wo für die Gattin des Sohnes als Hochzeitsgeschenk Geld 'zusammengekratzt' wurde (*Phorm.*, 40). Nun erst ist Gurgulio zur Hilfeleistung bereit; er kann sich jedoch nicht enthalten, in einem ironischen a parte-Monolog seine Meinung über den angeblichen Musterknaben zu äußern, den der Vater dem Nachbarn gegenüber immer in höchsten Tönen zu loben pflegte.

An dieser Stelle mag eine kurze Bemerkung zur Charakterzeichnung der Personen gestattet sein, die Stäuble als 'tipi tradizionali' bezeichnet³⁵. Das trifft nicht zu, wie die Darstellung des Graccus an unserer Stelle zeigt. Graccus ist gerade nicht ausschweifend und verschwenderisch (gegen Stäuble, S. 175), sondern eher sparsam; Poliscena ist keineswegs eine Dirne, dazu in der Verfolgung ihrer Ziele recht initiativ, und Gurgulio ist überhaupt kein listiger Sklave. Sein Beitrag zur Lösung von Graccus' Problem ist lediglich die Vermittlung der Tharatantara. Macharius als Vater ist zwar ahnungslos, aber nicht dumm; er schimpft zwar über

³⁴ Alle Handschriften bieten einstimmig 'corrodam', das aber im Zusammenhang der Stelle unsinnig ist.

³⁵ Stäuble, S. 13; vgl. Perosa, *Teatro umanistico*, S. 19.

Steuern und überhaupt auf den Fiscus, ist aber seinem Charakter nach nicht geizig und, soweit er in der Erzählung seiner Kriegstaten für den Typ des miles gloriosus eintritt, ist er gerade nicht ein Vertreter des bramarbasierenden Soldaten.

Doch zurück zur eigentlichen Handlung. Da Gurgulio die Klugheit der alten Tharantantara kennt, beschließt er am Ende von I, 3, sich bei seiner schwierigen Aufgabe ihrer Mithilfe zu versichern. In diesem Moment erscheint sie selbst : *»eccam oportune exeuntem e balneo quam lautam video«* — wieder eine fast wörtliche Übernahme aus dem *Phormio* (V. 339). Diesen Vers, in dem Phormio zeigt, wie er es mit seiner Parasitenphilosophie versteht, ohne Kosten als ein Mann von Welt zu leben, hat Leonardo in seiner Übertragung auf Tharantantara bemerkenswert ironisiert, da die Pointe bei ihm auf ganz anderer Ebene, nämlich in dem *‘quam lautam video’* liegt, das, wie der Zusatz *‘e balneo’* zeigt, wörtlich als *‘frisch gebadet’* verstanden werden will. Daß dies bei Tharantantara offenbar nicht selbstverständlich ist, zeigt eine spätere Stelle; denn als in II, 1 Gurgulio Graccus davon unterrichtet, wie bereitwillig die Alte ihre Hilfe zugesagt hat, fragt er ihn : *»Willst du, daß ich dir aufzähle, Herr, in welchem Maß und wie gütig und charmant mir Tharantantara entgegenkam?«* Und Graccus entgegnet darauf mit einer für das Stück sonst ungewöhnlichen, schon fast plautinischen Drastik : *»Charmant? — Que heri, ubi nescio quid de amore, ut fit, confabularer mecum apud ignem, plus vicesies fetide pepedit, ut omnes opus fuerit os ac nares manibus opturare, diu animam comprimere demumque aufugere, Gurgulio?«* Darauf antwortet Gurgulio lakonisch : *»Vielleicht hat sie Feigen mit Honig gegessen«*. — Auch dies also ist ein Beispiel für den freien Umgang mit aus der römischen Komödie vorgegebenen Situationen.

Doch damit haben wir bereits dem Handlungsverlauf vorgegriffen. In I, 4 teilt Gurgulio Tharantantara zunächst seine Unterredung mit Graccus mit und die Alte ist erst nach anfänglicher Weigerung (*»Civem optimis refertam moribus contaminatum iri persuadeam? Malim hosce oculos effodiat, vivam me gladio iugulet et canibus devorandam exponat!«*) bereit, zwischen Graccus und Poliscena zu vermitteln (*»Unum tamen gaudeo : si nostra opera herus sine incommodo, sine infamia, clam patre istac pociatur virgine, nobis hic semper patebunt fores«*). Wir haben also sowohl auf Seiten Gurgulios als auch bei ihr kein bedenkenloses Eingehen auf Graccus Wünsche, sondern beide entwickeln zunächst moralische Skrupel, eine freie Bürgerin aus gutem Hause, die noch dazu eine Jungfrau ist, zu verführen. Als Gurgulio in II, 1 seine Bedenken äußert,

fährt der sonst so schüchterne Graccus ihm nach *Andria* 317 und 730 über den Mund : »*Abi ad Orcum cum religione istac!*« Auch das persönliche Risiko, auf das sie sich einläßt, erkennt Tharantantara (I, 4) : »*Certum equidem scio, si quid praeter spem evenerit, hanc in me dumtaxat fabam cudere oportere*«. Dieselbe Kalkulation macht an vergleichbarer Stelle Parmeno im *Eunuchus* (V. 381) : »*at enim istaec in me cudetur faba*«. Entsprechend antwortet darauf Gurgulio nach *Eun.* 389 : »*et in me scilicet istec conferetur culpa*.«

Es folgt ein kleines burleskes Zwischenspiel, in dessen Verlauf Gurgulio der Alten sehr zu ihrem Verdruß einen Kuß ablistet, und abschließend in I, 5 ein Monolog, in dem Tharantantara räsontiert, daß die übergroße Vorsicht der Pitagora Calphurnia, »*que se putat Platonium spiritum nactam fuisse*«, schließlich nun doch zu nichts geführt hat. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Variation einer vor allem durch Cicero, *De Officiis* I (10) 33 bekannten Sentenz aus dem *Heaut.* 796 bezeichnend : Tharantantara kommentiert die Situation Calphurnias mit den Worten : »*summum ius sepe summam esse — imprudenciam*«.

Der zweite Akt umfaßt nur zwei Szenen, in denen jedoch die Handlung nicht weitergeführt wird. In der ersten Szene, die einen Tag nach den Vorgängen des ersten Aktes spielt ³⁶, berichtet Gurgulio Graccus von dem Erfolg seiner Unterredung mit Tharantantara und ihrem Plan, Poliscena zunächst mit Worten zu verführen. Diesen Vorschlag tut Graccus jedoch mit einer Metapher aus dem *Phormio* ab (V. 186) :

³⁶ Die gesamte Handlungsdauer erstreckt sich auf fünf, nicht auf sechs Tage, wie Sanesi I 763 angibt, dem sich Stäuble, S. 14 und 154 und Radcliff-Umstead, S. 32 anschließen; denn man darf nicht »*hodierno die infausta me deglutisset febris*« (I, 1) und »*potin me auscultare, tibi ut recenseam, que michi hesterno vesperi obvenere commoda?*« (I, 3) auf zwei Tage verteilen, da am Ende von I, 1 Graccus Gurgulio ins Vertrauen ziehen will und dieses dort angekündigte Gespräch gleich nach dem Intermezzo des Poliscena-Monologes beginnt. Dessen Einschub (I, 2) in die Handlung von I, 1 und 3 soll nur zeigen, daß sich die Handlung im ganzen gleichzeitig auf zwei zunächst von einander unabhängigen Ebenen entwickelt. Nach Sanesi müßte Graccus am 1. Tag über etwas für den Handlungsverlauf Belangloses mit seinem Sklaven gesprochen haben, um ihn erst einen Tag später erneut in dieser Angelegenheit anzusprechen. Das ist nach seinem Auftrittsmonolog (I, 1) ganz unwahrscheinlich. Man muß daher annehmen, daß die Begegnung Graccus/Poliscena auf der Strasse am Tag vor der ersten Szene stattfand und damit zur Vorgeschichte gehört. Danach spielen I, 1-5 am 1., II, 1 — III, 3 am 2., IV, 1 (»*scis, quid heri vesperi dixi tibi in angiporū?*«) — V, 1 am 3. und V, 2 am 5. Tag. Gerade der zeitliche Abstand von einem Tag zwischen V, 1 und 2 zeigt, daß an eine Akteinteilung im herkömmlichen Sinne nicht gedacht sein kann (vgl. oben Anm. 12).

»*Illancine virginem lactare verbis? O Gurgulio, nisi ex animo hoc fiat, laterem lavas.*« In einem zweiten Versuch will sich die Alte sodann die mater nequam ihren Zwecken durch Bestechung gefügig machen; aber auch davon will Graccus nichts wissen, und Gurgulio schwenkt sofort ein in einer dem Gespräch zwischen Thais und Chaerea im *Eunuchus* (V. 880 f.) nachgestalteten Situation, die bei Terenz die verständnisvolle Hetäre zeigt: »*Credin eciam me adeo humanarum rerum imperitum, ut quid amor possit nesciam?*« Des gleichen Argumentes wird sich auch später in IV, 2 mit leichter Variation in der Wortwahl, die sich jedoch aus der veränderten Situation versteht, Tharatantara Poliscena gegenüber bedienen: »*Non sum adeo inhumano neque rudi ingenio, ut nesciam, quantum sit oneris vim opprimere adolescencie.*« Damit werden wir unmittelbar an den Monolog Poliscenas in I, 2 erinnert.

Das plötzliche Auftreten von Graccus' Vater in II, 2 beendet jedoch das Gespräch zwischen Herrn und Sklaven. Macharius kommt von seinem Gut und schimpft hier wie auch später in III, 3 über die ständige Plackerei mit der Landwirtschaft und die verwünschten Steuereinnahmer, da ihn beides nach den unruhigen Jahren des Kriegsdienstes um den ungestörten Genuß seines Besitzes bringt.

Die erste der insgesamt drei Szenen des dritten Aktes bringt endlich die mit Spannung erwartete Konfrontation Tharatantaras mit Calphurnia. Obwohl die Alte mit großer Raffinesse geradezu beiläufig, aber konsequent in dem Gespräch auf ihr Ziel lossteuert, wird sie von Calphurnia energisch abgewiesen und hinausgeworfen: »*Si sapis, hinc pedem remove!*« Immerhin kann sie noch — schon auf der Schwelle — als kleines retardierendes Moment ihren Bestechungsversuch anbringen, doch erreicht sie letztlich damit auch nichts mehr, Calphurnia bleibt unerbittlich: »*Non, si auream regissolis effigiem daret!*«

Graccus gegenüber schildert Tharatantara in III, 2 bei dem Bericht über ihren Mißerfolg Calphurnia in den schwärzesten Farben als eine *execrabilis Aleto aut Thesiphone*, die, wie Tharatantara hinzufügt, »*nisi praecavissem egomet michi, temulenta iracundiam suam velut nauseam michi in faciem expuisset*«. In einem zweiten Versuch will nun die Alte ihre ganze ciceronianische Beredsamkeit aufbieten und sich an Poliscena selbst heranmachen.

Das geschieht am nächsten Morgen in der zweiten Szene des vierten Aktes. Tharatantara weiß, daß Calphurnia wieder einmal in der Kirche ist und sich ihr somit eine günstige Gelegenheit bietet, das Mädchen allein zu treffen.

Verbote sind in der Komödie dazu da, um übertreten zu werden, und so läßt Poliscena trotz des ausdrücklichen Befehls ihrer Mutter, niemandem in deren Abwesenheit zu öffnen, Tharatantara auf ihr Klopfen hin ein. Die Alte verliert nun anders als bei dem vorausgegangenen Gespräch mit Calphurnia bei Poliscena überhaupt keine Zeit, sondern erzählt sofort dem Mädchen, wie Graccus es auf dem Weg zur Franziskanerkirche gesehen und — ähnlich wie Chaerea im *Eunuchus* (V. 566) mit Kennerblick auch trotz der Verschleierung ihre Schönheit wahrgenommen hat (IV, 2) : »*O Poliscena, nescis, quam sagax sit spectator formarum potissime huiusce modi?* Seitdem verzehre er sich in seiner Liebesleidenschaft mit allen dieser eigenen Symptomen : »*nequit esse, nequit potare, noctes ducit insomnes, ingemiscit perpetuo ... et decrevit pre tristitia propediem mortem obire*«. Diese eindringliche Schilderung verfehlt bei Poliscena keineswegs ihre Wirkung, und als ihr Tharatantara obendrein noch versichert, der Mutter nichts zu erzählen, da schüttet sie der Alten ebenfalls ihr Herz aus und gesteht ihr ihre Liebe zu Graccus. Die Szene schließt mit der für Tharatantaras Mission erfolgreichen Verabredung, Graccus solle am nächsten Tag, wenn die Mutter wieder in der Kirche ist, das Mädchen aufsuchen, doch dürfe er nicht wissen, daß dieser Vorschlag von Poliscena komme.

Noch am gleichen Tag berichtet die Alte Graccus von ihrem glücklich zuendegeführten Auftrag und gibt dem Jüngling, der nun kurz vor seinem Ziel auf einmal aus Angst vor der eigenen Courage und vor Aufregung fürchterlich zu zittern anfängt, gute Ratschläge, wie er sich dem Mädchen gegenüber verhalten soll. Dabei macht sie sich voller Ironie über den Angsthasen lustig (V, 1) : »*Totus iam pallescit ac frendit dentes metu!* — *Bone vir, num friges?*«³⁷ Hier sind wieder zwei terenzische Situationen 'kontaminiert'; die eine aus dem *Eunuchus*, wo V. 84 Phaedria beim Anblick der Thais ähnlich wie Graccus hier reagiert : »*Totus, Parmeno, tremo horreoque, postquam aspexi hanc*«, worauf der Sklave ironisch den Rat erteilt : »*bono animo es : accede ad ignem* (sc. Thaidem; in der *Poliscena* : »*eamus intro propius ignem*») *hunc, iam calesces plus satis*« — und zum anderen ist eine Situation aus den *Adelphen* verarbeitet (V. 557), wo Syrus, ebenfalls gereizt, der Gegenfrage : »*Quid, malum, frigeo?*« des Graccus vergleichbar mit »*Quid, malum, 'bone vir' mihi narras?*« antwortet. Dem terenzischen »*tremo horreoque*« aus *Eun.* 84 entspricht

³⁷ Ein vergleichbares spottendes 'frigent' finden wir auch *Eun.* 268 : Gnatho : *Nimirum hic homines frigent.*

außerdem die Antwort Tharatantaras auf die Frage des Graccus : »*Nondum nosti, quam sim ad res huiusce modi vafer?*« :: »*Credo, cui iamiam ut arundo tremunt poplices ac crura!*« Tharatantara möchte jedenfalls Mäuschen spielen, wenn Graccus Poliscena zum erstenmal gegenübersteht : »*Vellem, ita me iuvet Iesus, ex rimula quadam inspicundi facultatem michi darier, qua illam adoriatur primum oratione virginem; ita nunc propemodum exanimatum video pusillanimum!*« — und sie schüttet am Ende der Szene noch einmal ihren ganzen Spott über ihn aus : »*Bellum arduum est. Utinam adesset, qui tibi caput galea tegetet, ne te tela virginis vulnerarent!*«

Offensichtlich hat dann der so furchtsame Jüngling aber doch bei Poliscena seine Chance genutzt; denn in der zweiten und letzten Szene des fünften Aktes stürzt Calphurnia Feuer und Flammen speiend auf Macharius los, der in seiner Ahnungslosigkeit gar nicht begreift, um was es eigentlich geht. Auch hier haben wir eine situativ umgestaltete bekannte terenzische Metapher, diesmal aus der *Andria* (V. 941) : »*Nisi me fallit aliquid convicii perpessa est misera. Solent enim nonnulli Palatini canes viduarum pudicie insidiarier, nonnumquam rei sue capessende gracia nodum in scirpo querere*«. Anders als in der *Andria* hat hier aber die Metapher die Bedeutung 'da etwas holen zu wollen, wo es nichts zu holen gibt'. Erst als Calphurnia für den Fall, daß der Jungfrauenschänder nicht sofort ihre Tochter heiraten sollte, mit einem Prozeß droht und Macharius begriffen hat, daß es sich um seinen Sohn Graccus handelt, da lacht er Calphurnia in ihrer Empörung aus und gibt ohne lange zu zögern sein Einverständnis zur Hochzeit. Von der eingangs befürchteten Komplikation durch den 'pater severus' ist also nichts mehr übriggeblieben.

Wie der Überblick über diese Komödie zeigt, ist in der Sprache die Terenzimitation aus fast jeder Zeile deutlich spürbar, und doch, kommt man nur von der römischen Komödie her, befremdet die äußere Form und der Inhalt des Stückes; denn das ganze 'dramatische' Geschehen spielt sich, in der Fiktion auf fünf Tage verteilt, nur in der für die römische Komödie in ihrer Ausschließlichkeit undenkbaren Form von Zweiergesprächen und Monologen ab, und als eigentliche Handlung haben wir nach dem exponierenden ersten Akt nur die zunächst bei Calphurnia erfolglose und dann bei Poliscena umso erfolgreichere Vermittlung der Alten zwischen den beiden Liebenden. Mit diesem Stück hat nun der Autor bei aller Fülle des im einzelnen von Terenz entlehnten sprachlichen Materials jedoch keine Komödie geschaffen, die einem

Cento vergleichbar aus lauter einzelnen terenzischen Metaphern, Phrasen und Situationen zusammengesetzt auch inhaltlich dem römischen Dichter verpflichtet wäre, sondern er steht vom Handlungstyp her trotz der Anspielungen auf zeitgenössische Verhältnisse ganz in der Tradition der mittelalterlichen Komödie.

— Verhältnis zur mittelalterlichen Komödie.

Das zeigt ein Vergleich mit der *comoedia elegiaca Pamphilus* eines uns unbekannten Verfassers aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, an deren Handlung sich die der *Poliscena* weitgehend orientiert³⁸. Trotz mancher Übereinstimmungen gibt es aber doch auch hier bemerkenswerte Unterschiede.

Der junge Pamphilus hat sich schon seit drei Jahren in seine schöne Nachbarin Galathea verliebt³⁹, ist aber viel zu schüchtern⁴⁰, um dem Mädchen gegenüber die Initiative zu ergreifen und ihr seine Liebe zu gestehen. Dennoch taucht auch hier das uns schon aus Terenz und Leonardo bekannte Motiv auf (462): »*qua si non pociar tunc placet ut moriar*«. Als besonders hinderlich stellt sich neben Pamphilus' Schüchternheit die unterschiedliche soziale Stellung der beiden heraus: Galathea ist von höherem Stand als er und reich, während er von der Hand in den Mund lebt⁴¹. In dieser ihm ausweglos erscheinenden Situation wendet sich Pamphilus direkt an Venus mit der Bitte um Hilfe (V. 1-70), da sie ja auch seinen Liebeskummer verursacht habe⁴². Die Göttin tröstet ihn mit Vergils bekanntem Vers (*Georg.*, I, 145-6): »*labor improbus omnia vincit*« (71) und gibt ihm Ovids *Ars amatoria* und den *Remedia amoris* entnommene Verhaltensmaßregeln, wie er sich durch *ars* und *officium* (82) Galathea, die ihm durch anfängliche *asperitas* (76)

³⁸ Vgl. Creizenach, I, 544, 32; Stäuble, S. 13; Sanesi I, 142; Radcliff-Umstead, S. 33. — Als Ausgabe benutze ich *Pamphilus*, Texte établi et traduit par E. Évesque, in *La 'comédie' latine en France au XII^e siècle*. Textes publiés sous la direction et avec une introduction de G. Cohen, Tome II (Paris, 1931), S. 169-223.

³⁹ *Ut te dilexi, jam ter pertransiit annus* (181).

⁴⁰ *Illius in forma nostros tremor occupat artus,
Et magis hec votum dicere causa vetat* (55-56).

⁴¹ *Nec michi sunt dotes, decus ingens, copia grandis,
Sed quod habere queo, quero labore meo* (51-62).

⁴² *Aut tu tolle tuas nostro de corde sagittas,
Aut tu seva tuis vulnera pasce modis* (65-66).

noch als *hostis* erscheinen wird, zur *amica* machen kann (71-142) ⁴³. Dabei ist Venus in der Wahl ihrer Mittel gar nicht sehr zimperlich, wenn sie sagt (113-4) :

»*Pulcrius esse putat* (sc. Galathea) *vi perdere virginitatem*
Quam dicat 'de me fac modo velle tuum'«,

und (123-4) :

»*Crede quod interdum multis mendacia prosunt,*
Et quandoque nocet omnia vera loqui.«

Mit diesen »mendacia« wird Pamphilus zunächst seinen Standesunterschied und seine Armut verschleiern, ein Motiv, das in der *Poliscena* nicht zum Tragen kommt. Venus verspricht Pamphilus schließlich Erfolg (141-2) :

»*vinces studiosus amicam*
inceptumque viis mille patebit opus.«

Damit ist der Weg zur Lösung des Konflikts und die Lösung selbst bereits am Anfang des Stückes vorgegeben. Diese Ausgangssituation, in der Venus den schließlichen Erfolg garantiert, ist somit den durch Götterprologe exponierten Komödien bei Plautus bzw. Menander vergleichbar.

Bevor nun Pamphilus ebenfalls mit Hilfe einer *anus*, die aber nicht zu seinem Hause gehört, Galathea gegenüber aktiv wird, hat bereits anders als in der *Poliscena* eine erste Unterredung zwischen ihm und dem Mädchen stattgefunden (163-244), in der er die von Venus angekündigte *asperitas* Galatheas, die sich nicht wie *Poliscena* zum selben Zeitpunkt wie er in den jungen Mann verliebt hat, überwinden kann und sie am Ende sogar — mit ihrem Einverständnis — küssen darf (239 : »*hoc solum paciar, si tu nil amplius addas!*«). Die 'de templo' zurückkehrenden Eltern beenden dieses erste Rendezvous, Galathea muß nach Hause, jedoch nicht ohne Pamphilus zu versprechen, daß weitere Gelegenheiten, sich zu treffen, folgen werden (243) :

»*Tempora sat venient pariter quibus ambo loquemur.*«

Die Hilfe der ab V. 281 bemühten, im übrigen namenlosen *anus* ist also weder nach dem Versprechen der Venus noch nach dem bereits

⁴³ Eine bequeme Gegenüberstellung der jeweiligen Texte findet sich in der 'Notice' der in Anm. 38 genannten Ausgabe, 173-175.

so verheißungsvoll begonnenen Verhältnis unbedingt nötig, somit also viel schlechter motiviert als Tharatantaras Eingreifen, das in der *Poliscena* in Anlehnung an *Phorm.* 726 auch noch psychologisch begründet wird : »*nam mulier mulieri haud veretur verba credere*«⁴⁴. Leonardo hat daher in seiner Komödie Motive der Vorlage wahrscheinlicher gemacht, indem er auf das Eingreifen der Venus ebenso wie auf ein direktes Zusammentreffen der Liebenden verzichtete. Graccus erfährt von Poliscenas und Calphurnias Reaktionen auf sein Werben anders als Pamphilus immer nur indirekt durch Tharatantara — eine Methode, die Leonardo den Lesern gegenüber bis zum Schluß beibehält, wenn er in der letzten Szene nur noch die beiden betroffenen Elternteile auf die Nachricht vom Erfolg des Jünglings bei Poliscena reagieren läßt, ohne das glücklich vereinte Paar noch einmal zu zeigen. Im *Pamphilus* dagegen wird sogar die Attacke auf das Mädchen selbst in zehn Versen (681-691) recht drastisch vorgeführt. Es ist evident, daß die an dramatischen Momenten an sich arme *Poliscena* durch solche charakteristischen Veränderungen wesentlich an Spannung gewinnt. Dennoch ist die Vorlage überall deutlich. So geht z.B. der vollkommen unmotivierte Kuß, den Gurgulio der Alten⁴⁵ während des burlesken Zwischenspiels in I, 4 ablistet, auf den Kuß zurück, den Galathea, durch die Entwicklung der Handlung bis dahin gut motiviert, freiwillig Pamphilus gibt. Wie die de templo zurückkehrenden Eltern, die das Liebespaar im übrigen gar nicht bemerken, dessen erstes Rendezvous beenden, so beendet auch der in II, 2 bei Leonardo plötzlich auftauchende Vater die Unterredung zwischen Graccus und Gurgulio, nachdem für Graccus auch hier durch die Nachricht von Tharatantaras Einwilligung mitzumachen wie in der mittelalterlichen Vorlage eine erste Aussicht auf Erfolg gegeben ist.

Ebenso resultiert die übergroße Angst des Graccus vor seinem ersten Zusammentreffen mit Poliscena am Ende von V, 1 aus der vergleichbaren Haltung des Pamphilus in der entsprechenden Situation⁴⁶. In

⁴⁴ Vgl. oben, Anm. 33.

⁴⁵ Vgl. *Poliscena*, IV, 2 : »*Nix est in capite, sulcus in gena*«.

⁴⁶ Pamphilus, 155-162 :

*Et subito tanti michi nunc venere dolores,
Nec mea mens mecum, nec mea verba manent,
Nec michi sunt vires trepidantque pedesque manusque;
Attonito nullus congruus est habitus.
Mentis in affectu sibi dicere plura paravi,
Sed timor excussit dicere que volui;
Non sum qui fueram, vix me cognoscere possum;
Non bene vox sequitur...sed tamen inde loquar.*

beiden Fällen ist die subjektiv vielleicht verständliche Angst objektiv unbegründet : Pamphilus hat die Zusage der Venus auf Erfolg bei dem Mädchen und Graccus kann auf die erfolgreiche Vorarbeit Tharatantaras bei Poliscena bauen. An dieser Stelle verwenden beide Dichter Kriegsmetaphorik; im *Pamphilus* rät die Alte der Galathea (635) :

»*Imperium Veneris fac, dum sua miles habetis*«,

und Tharatantara verspottet Graccus : »*Utinam adesset, qui tibi caput galea tegetet, ne te tela virginis vulnerarent*«. Freilich hat in der *Poliscena* die Bezugsperson der Kriegsmetaphorik bezeichnenderweise gewechselt.

Auch die überraschende Art, wie Graccus bei seinem ängstlichen Gemüt das erste Zusammentreffen mit Poliscena genutzt hat, erklärt sich aus dem Verhalten des Pamphilus. Nur von dieser Vorlage her ist das Faktum des 'vi perdere virginitatem' in Leonardos Stück verständlich, während es bei Pamphilus durch den Rat der Venus motiviert war.

Charakteristische Unterschiede gibt es auch in der Zeichnung der anus im *Pamphilus*. Sie gehört hier nicht zum Dienstpersonal des Pamphilus, der zu arm ist, um sich einen Diener leisten zu können, sondern die Alte ist sogar im Gegensatz zu Tharatantara eine Vertraute der Galathea ⁴⁷ und hat großen Einfluß auf sie, so daß bei ihrem Werben, nachdem sie sich ähnlich wie Tharatantara, jedoch aus anderen Motiven, zunächst einmal geweigert hatte, die Vermittlerrolle zu übernehmen, die Aussicht auf Erfolg von vornherein gewisser ist als in der *Poliscena*. In beiden Stücken wird eigens die calliditas der zwei Alten in Liebesaffären hervorgehoben (IV, 2 : »*Non sum aliis similis. Nondum quidem nosti ingenium meum, quam sit ad res huius modi callidum ac taciturnum? Non capitur facile*«; vgl. *Pamph.*, 424 ff.) und der Lohn, für den sie sich einsetzen, ist jedesmal derselbe : im *Pamphilus* bittet die Alte (328) :

»*Deprecor ut pateat hinc michi vestra domus*«,

und in der *Poliscena* sagt Tharatantara (I, 4) : »*Unum tamen gaudeo : si nostra opera herus ... istac pociatur virgine, nobis hic semper patebunt fores*«.

Ein deutlicher Unterschied läßt sich jedoch in der Verwendung des Motivs der Eltern feststellen. Waren es in der *Poliscena* gerade Calphurnia und Macharius, die als die einzigen ernstzunehmenden

⁴⁷ *Nam nimis illa meo subiaceret imperio;
Insuper, ipsa sui sum dux et conscia facti* (309-310).

Hindernisse im Handlungsablauf auftauchten, so kann davon im *Pamphilus* nicht die Rede sein. Galathea kommt immer nur auf die Eltern zu sprechen, wenn sie der Alten zusagt, auf das Werben des Pamphilus einzugehen unter der Voraussetzung, daß auch die Eltern mit einer Heirat einverstanden wären (z.B. 592). Im übrigen treten sie aber nicht in Erscheinung, abgesehen davon, daß sich Galathea ebenso wie Poliscena in I, 2 über ihre Mutter beklagt, die sie immer eingesperrt halte⁴⁸. Am Schluß der Komödie ist es die Alte, die die Ehe stiftet und dem Paar ihren Segen gibt.

* * *

Zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, daß Leonardo trotz der Nachahmung der terenzischen Sprache und der Übernahme einer Fülle plautinischen und terenzischen Komödien entlehnter Situationen, die er je nach Bedarf mehr oder weniger veränderte, keine stoffliche Bindung an die römische Komödie eingeht und auch keine Adaption an ihre äußere Form anstrebt. Dafür zeigen sich bei ihm trotz des engen Anschlusses in der Handlung an die mittelalterliche Komödie charakteristische Neuerungen. Die Rückbesinnung auf die antiken Komödien und das technische Verarbeiten des dort gefundenen sprachlichen Materials dienen ihm dazu, sein Stück gegenüber dem mittelalterlichen Vorbild lebendiger zu gestalten, indem er wiederum nicht nur auf die metrisch gebundene Form der *comoedia elegiaca* verzichtet und sich so in seiner Prosa von der Gleichförmigkeit des Vorbildes zu lösen vermag, sondern auch durch die Einführung weiterer Personen und durch die Verdoppelung der Sklavenrolle das Personal seiner Komödie erweitert und so das Stück dramaturgisch spannender gestaltet. Äußerlich zeigt sich das auch in der Differenzierung des Stoffes in einzelne, stark von einander abgesetzte Szenen⁴⁹. So nähert sich Leonardo durch sein

⁴⁸ *Nam mater mecum custos michi semper habetur,*

Totaque me servat nocte dieque domus.

⁴⁹ Creizenach I, 544 und Stäuble, S. 14 bemängeln das Fehlen einer natürlichen Verbindung der einzelnen Szenen in der *Poliscena*. Dieser Mangel tritt aber nur in Erscheinung, wenn man die mittelalterliche Tradition nicht berücksichtigt und antike bzw. moderne Maßstäbe an das Stück anlegt. Die Komödien der Renaissance setzen eben nicht die römische Komödie in direkter Linie fort, jedenfalls nicht die Stücke der Frührenaissance, sondern sie sind auch als ein Stück Reaktion auf das zu verstehen, was ihnen unmittelbar in der Gattungsgeschichte vorausging, auf das Mittelalter. So ist denn auch die Einteilung in Szenen und das Auftreten verschiedener Personen eine 'moderne' Neuerung, da beim *Pamphilus* z.B. nicht einmal an einen Vortrag mit verteilten Rollen zu denken ist; vgl. dazu Creizenach, I, 32.

Umgestalten des Überkommenen trotz aller Kontinuität im mittelalterlichen Handlungsschema einerseits wieder stärker dem Charakter der antiken Komödie, eine Beobachtung, die allerdings erst auf dem Umweg über die mittelalterliche Komödie deutlich wird, andererseits hat er in Johannes Reuchlin, der sich seit 1494 auf Einladung des Bischofs Johann von Dalberg in Heidelberg aufhielt und hier sicher die *Poliscena* kennengelernt hatte, einen überaus erfolgreichen Nachahmer dieser Methode gefunden; denn Reuchlins am 31. Januar 1497 von Heidelberger Studenten zum erstenmal aufgeführte Komödie *Scenica progymnasmata* oder *Henno* ist auch ein Versuch, Motive des spätmittelalterlichen Possenspiels im terenzischen Sprachgewand nun nicht mehr als Lese-drama, sondern sogar auf der Bühne wirksam werden zu lassen ⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ Daß dieser Versuch erfolgreich war, zeigt das große Interesse an Reuchlins Komödie und deren Wirkungsgeschichte; denn bis zum Jahr 1523 sind schon 22 Ausgaben des *Henno* entstanden; vgl. dazu Creizenach, II, 43-47.

Jacqueline IJSEWIJN-JACOBS

MAGISTRI ANTHONII HANERON (ca. 1400-1490)
OPERA GRAMMATICA ET RHETORICA

In 1429, four years after the foundation of the *Studium Generale Lovaniense*, Anthonius Haneron, a native of Steenvoorde in Southern Flanders¹, arrived at Louvain. He came from Paris, where he had obtained the degrees of M. A. and doctor in canon law. Very soon Anthonius was appointed *regens*, i.e. full professor, in the Faculty of Arts for the year 1430-31². Since a *regentia* was conferred for only one year, it had to be renewed every year. Haneron kept his charge without interruption until 1437, and he seems to have been a respected person : from 13 December 1431 to 24 March 1432 he was dean of the faculty. The faculty *Acta* written, as usual, in his own hand, survive and the quality of their Latin is not bad compared to what some of his colleagues wrote. Two years later, from 27 February to 31 May 1434 he was rector of the University, elected unanimously by all his colleagues as he proudly tells us in his *Ars dictandi*. During these years spent at the University Haneron wrote several works on Latin grammar and rhetoric, to which I will return.

In 1438 Haneron left Louvain for Brussels to enter the service of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. In 1439 he became a counsellor and two years later he was put in charge of the education of Charles the Bold. He remained at the service of this prince as a counsellor (1465) and a travelling ambassador (1467). For his good services he was rewarded in 1467 with the post of provost of St. Donatian's in Bruges, which brought with it the title of Chancellor of Flanders. He remained a member of the court under the Hapsburg, Maximilian.

In 1478, when he was about eighty years old Haneron returned to Louvain. On the 25th of August 1484 he converted his house *in platea*

¹ Now in the French Département du Nord.

² E. Reusens, *Promotions de la faculté des Arts* (Louvain, 1869), pp. 23-35.

Cattorum, i.e. in the Kattestraat (now : de Beriotstraat) into a hostel for students in canon law, to be administered by his old Faculty of Arts. In this college, called *Collegium Sancti Donatiani*³, Erasmus was the guest of Johannes Paludanus in 1502-04 and again in the summer of 1517. It is no longer extant but on the site the town-park of Louvain, Sint-Donatuspark, perpetuates its memory and across the street the library of the Faculty of Theology keeps the most complete manuscript of Haneron's writings.

Anthוניus died at Bruges on 10 December 1490 and was buried there in St. Donatian's. His epitaph runs as follows :

Hic jacet venerabilis vir dominus Antonius Haneron
prepositus hujus ecclesie et Flandrie cancellarius
Qui obiit anno millesimo quadringentesimo
Nonagesimo mensis Decembris die decima. Orate pro eo.⁴

Iodocus Beissel, another of Maximilian's courtiers, wrote a poetical epitaph, which preserves a record of Haneron's merits as a teacher and a forerunner of humanism :

Ferrea secla senex fugitans Antonius Haenron
Hic anime exuvias occulit astra petens.
Pieridum primus Belgis hic intulit artes;
Instituit Karolum dignus et ipse ducem.
Prefuit et templis, regum legatis et aulis
Intonuit. Frustra hunc mors putat esse suum.
Solus iners moritur totus. Stat pulchra superstes
Fama viri : occantem non timet illa deam.⁵

Haneron wrote several grammatical and rhetorical works for his students. These lessons in Latin, however, were not part of his charge in the Faculty of Arts. Therefore, they were not taught in the *Vicus* or the premises of the faculty, but privately in a house or a *Paedagogium*. A formal course of rhetoric was not founded until some years after Haneron left Louvain. At the beginning of the University there were four 'paedagogies': *Castrum* (Het Kasteel), *Falco* (De Valk),

³ On the history of this college see i.a. E. De Maesschalk, "Een sociaal drama in het Sint-Donaaskollege (1513)", *Mededelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring voor Leuven en omgeving*, XIV (1974), 65-79.

⁴ *Erasmus en Leuven : Catalogus* (Leuven, 1969), p. 85.

⁵ J. Beisselius, *Rosacea augustissime cristifere Marie corona* (Antverpiae, ca. 1498), fol. [e.vi]r.

Porcus (Het Varken) and *Lilium* (De Lelie), which latter after a few years absorbed the old Chapter school of St. Peter's next to the college. Although we know that during the thirties of the fifteenth century works of Haneron were used by teachers of the Lily, we do not know whether Haneron himself actually lived and taught in this college or not. If he did he would be the first of a long series of famous grammarians of this college, among them men such as Carolus Viruli and Johannes Despauterius.

I will now give a list of his works and mention the problems related with the establishing of their canon.

1. *De Coloribus verborum et sententiarum*, a short rhetorical treatise based on book IV of *Ad Herennium* and Alexander de Villa Dei. As far as I know it only survives in one printed copy in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel and seems to have been printed at Utrecht about 1475, perhaps from a copy used in the school of Deventer ⁶.

2. *Praecepta oratoribus multum utilia*, which survives in the Louvain manuscript. According to a note under the text these precepts were read in the Lily by *Magister Ambrosius*. In all probability — the name Ambrosius is extremely rare at Louvain in the fifteenth century — this is Ambrosius Van Enghelen, who began his studies at Cologne in 1423 and, having obtained the title of M.A. there, matriculated at Louvain in 1427. His name suggests that he came from Limburg, which is confirmed by the fact that his diocese was Liège. On 8 January 1428 he was admitted to the Council of the Faculty of Arts as a *legens*, i.e. an assistant professor. He obtained the *regentia* for the years 1433/34, 1437/38 and 1438/39 ⁷.

3. *Ars dictandi*, also preserved in the Louvain manuscript. The text suggests that it consists of lecture notes written by a student, not a formal treatise published by Haneron himself.

4. *De partibus epistolae*, a short text in the same manuscript.

5. *De epistolis brevibus edendis*, also found under the titles *Dictandi epistolandique praecepta ornatissima* or *De conficiendis epistolis*. This is by far the most popular of Haneron's writings or of the works published under his name. I have serious doubts about whether he was the author

⁶ In giving examples Haneron usually speaks of Louvain, e.g. *Lovanii sumus*. In this treatise however one finds *Daventria*. It may be that a teacher at Deventer used Haneron's text but adapted some details to his own school.

⁷ See hereafter, p. 54.

of this treatise or only its editor. For one thing, the theory on the essential parts of a letter given in this work is quite different from what we read in the *Ars dictandi*, which certainly is a course given by Haneron. Moreover, several passages are understandable only if one assumes that an assistant (Van Enghelen?) wrote it on behalf of his master and at his request: the writer makes it quite clear that he does not feel sure whether or not his preceptor will agree with the theories proposed.

The text however remained popular throughout the fifteenth century under Haneron's name. It was even used at the University of Vienna in the fifties by Georgius Peuerbach⁸. Sometimes the treatise is followed by eight model letters, treating Burgundian topics and called *epistolae extravagantes*.

I know of sixteen manuscripts and two printed editions in the fifteenth century. The manuscripts are at Darmstadt (Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibl., 1966), Harburg (Fürstl. Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibl., II. Lat. 1. 4^o, 33), Louvain (Bibliotheek Faculteit Theologie K.U.L., 23. Until recently this manuscript was at Mechlin, Groot Seminarie), Munich (CIm 3941, 15737, 18802, and 22404; Universitätsbibl. 2^o Cod. ms. 606), Paris (B.N. lat. 7762: long extracts from this manuscript were published as the work of an unknown author by N. Valois as an appendix to his thesis *De arte scribendi epistolas*, Paris 1880), Stuttgart (Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB VIII, 13), Trier (Seminarbibl. 44), Vienna (ÖNB, Cod. Vindob. Palat. 3111; 3213 and 3244), Wolfenbüttel (Herzog-August-Bibl., 190 Helmst.) and Würzburg (Univ. Bibl., M. ch. q. 18). There may be several more, not only under Haneron's name but anonymous or even under the name of Peuerbach.

Only one copy of each of the printed editions seems to survive, viz. at The Hague, Museum Meermano-Westreenianum (s.l., a., typ.: ca. 1475?) and in the John Rylands Library in Manchester (Antwerp, M. Goes, s.a.).

6. *Compendium Diasynthetice*, a basic Latin syntax, in which Haneron often used the vernacular (mediaeval Dutch) to explain the Latin forms and structures. Four editions are known, but no manuscripts:

— Cologne, Joh. Koelhoff sr., ca. 1475-77. Copies are at The Hague *Royal Library*, and Trier, *Stadtbibliothek*.

⁸ Grossmann K., "Die Frühzeit des Humanismus in Wien bis zu Celtis Berufung 1497", *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, XXII (1929), 150-325 (pp. 246-248).

— S.l., a., typ. (= Deventer, R. Pafraet, ca. 1480): only copy at Liège, *Séminaire diocésain*.

— Gouda, G. Leeu, 1481. Only copy at the Colombina of Seville. The text of this edition was reworked by Engelbert Schut of Leiden, who added a prefatory letter and mnemotechnical verses to each chapter.

— Antwerp, G. Leeu, 1487. Copy also at the Colombina of Seville. These works seem to be the whole corpus of Haneron's grammatical and rhetorical treatises and courses. C. De Clercq, who first called attention to the Louvain manuscript, when it was still at Mechlin, assigns four more treatises of the same manuscript to Haneron, viz. *De conditionibus partium epistolae*; *Documenta dictaminis*; *De pausis vel distinctionibus* and *De coloribus rhetoricis*. There is however no evidence to prove this. The manuscript is a miscellany of all kind of texts used for late mediaeval teaching of Latin and bound together from many different sorts of paper. It does not assign these four titles to Haneron, as it explicitly does others. Furthermore the *De coloribus* is a paraphrase of Geoffrey de Vinsauf / Godefridus de Vino Salvo, whom Haneron never mentions in his treatise with the same title. Unless new evidence is found I will exclude these anonymous works from the list of Haneron's writings.

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I

DE COLORIBUS VERBORUM SENTENTIARUMQUE

1. *Traditio*

Tractatus hic uno, quod scimus, exemplari typis expresso traditur (Hain-Copinger 8352; Campbell 909). Quod exemplar servatum est in bibliotheca Augustana Guelpherbytana (Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel).¹ In Catalogo n° 262 *Incunables - Illustrated Books* libellionis Hollandici Mennonis Hertzberger (Baarn 1970), p. 6 n° 7 falso dicitur in illa bibliotheca exstare unicum exemplar editionis Antverpiensis *Diasyntheticae*. Praeter tractatum, quem hic edidi, bibliotheca Augustana codicem manu scriptum possidet opusculi *De brevibus epistolis edendis*, de quo suo loco agam.

Vetus libellus, qui continet tractatum *De Coloribus*, olim erat bibliothecae Helmstadiensis, unde permulti libri Guelpherbytum translati sunt. Constat 18 foliis binarum et vicenarum linearum, in 4°; impressura gothica cum multis abbreviationibus; Nullae sunt signaturae, litterae custodes vel foliorum aut paginarum numeri.

Ignoratur etiam typographus, locus et annus impressionis. Incunabulorum periti credunt libellum circa 1475 excusum esse Ultraiecti. In fine libri post 'explicit' legitur "Finitum per manus vvilhelmi hees anno LXXV", quod mea quidem sententia potius ad scriptorem codicis, quo usus est typographus, quam ad ipsum typographum refert. Codex ille fortasse non Lovanio provenit, sed e schola Daventriensi. Nam quod legitur capite XXXXI. 3 (p. 22 l. 1) : "Tota Daventria hic extat congregata", exemplum videtur a magistro quodam Daventriensi datum. Haneron fortasse scripsit "Totum Lovanium hic extat congregatum". Utcumque sit, manifestum est ex erroribus, quos infra recensui in adnotatione critica, typothetam Ultraiectensem linguae Latinae omnino expertem et imperitum fuisse. At Vilelmus Hees, si revera idem est qui decanus Ultraiectensis a Poggio laudatus, vir erat litteris Latinis bene instructus. Unde patet eum hanc editionem vel saltem operam in chalcographia non curasse.

De quaestione typographica egerunt :

Hellinga, L. & W., "Wilhelmus Hees, Printer or Bibliophile?" in : *Essays in Honour of Victor Scholderer* (Mainz 1970), 182-195.

Painter G. D., "The Printer of Haneron", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1957), 61-65.

De vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden. Catalogus (Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1973), pp. 105-106, n° 54.

2. *Adnotatio critica*

Verba exemplaris Guelpherbytani exscripsi hac quidem ratione :

¹ Libellum, qui nunc cum variis incunabulis aliis in unum volumen compactus est, Guelpherbyti inspexi. Gratias sincere ago Paulo Raabe, bibliothecae praefecto, qui maxima benignitate me excepit idemque photocopiam faciendam curavit. Quae photocopia Lovanii in bibliotheca seminarii philologiae humanisticae adservatur.

1. Capitula servavi numerisque Romanis distinxi. Longiora capitula in paragraphos divisi, quas zifris arabicis notavi. Litterae initiales quaecumque desunt inter uncus fractos <.> supplevi.

2. Abbreviationes et suspensiones solvi et expandi, interdum et supplevi.

Typographus Ultraiectensis enim *que* encliticon alias *q* littera caudata, alias sola cauda expressit (e.g. XVII. 3 utrim<q>ue; XXVIII. 1 ita<q>ue; LV. 6 divine<q>ue, etc.); item *m* intervocalem omisit in desinentiis superlativorum (II. 3 usitatissi<m>us; LII. 2, sexies!) et verborum (XII. 1 sole<m>us; XXXIV. 1 dice<m>us; XXXVII. 1 dici<m>us; XXXXIV. 1 dici<m>us; servaveri<m>us; LI. 6 reprehendi<m>us; LXVI. 1 dici<m>us). Interdum aliae etiam desinentiae vel syllabae vel litterae exciderunt : I. 4 edissere<r>; II. 7 composi<i>o; III. 3 commen<dan>de; IV. 3 Num<id>as; XV. 2 diale<c>tice; XXX. 2 ref<e>rantur; XXXIV. 1 s<c>it; XXXV. 1 d<i>visione; XXXV. 3 aut; XXXXIII. 6 perve<r>sio; LI. 5 veh<e>menter; LIX 1 et 2 alic<ui>us; LXVI. 4 nati<on>um.

In LXVII. 2 *n* littera perperam suspensa est : egre[n]gie.

3. Typotheta saepius litteras commutavit, unde hi errores notabiliores exorti sunt :

III. 1 *Aceronne*, et XVIII *Acerone*, pro : *Cicerone*; IV. 3 *Sapio* (ter!) pro *Scipio*.

VI. 5 *minimi* pro *nummi*; *minimorum* pro *nummorum*; XXXIX. 2 *vini* pro *vim*.

XII. 4 *procuratorem* pro *procreatorem*.

XX. 2 *commutatum* pro *commutatur*.

XXXVII. 1 *t(ame)n* pro *cum*; LV. 6 *cum magis* pro *eum magis*.

XXXIX. 3 *boni* pro *bovi*. Cf. XIV. 1 *copulative* pro *copulative*; XXXIII. 2 *tantologia* pro *tautologia*.

XXXV. 3 *es* pro *os*. Cf. III. 1 *medorum* pro *modorum*.

4. Quibusdam in locis verba non a typotheta depravata esse, sed in codice manuscripto corrupta extitisse videntur. Itaque uncis quadratis [...] verba seclusimus, quae aut superflua habui (II. 8) aut sensui totius enuntiati repugnant (XXI. 2).

Item correxi : III. 3 variantur (varientur); IV. 2 conpscere (capessere); consilias (concilias); XIX. 4 exornationes (exornationibus); XXVI. 1 Occupacio (occultacio); XXXVII. 1 Preciosio (precisio); XXXXII. 3 parifrasis (perifrasis); LXIV. 4 efflatus (afflatus).

5. Minoris momenti menda sunt : I. 6 quidam (quidem); II. 7 utpute (utpote); V. 1 tu/(p. 6) tu scis (tu scis); XXI. 2 petiusti (petivisti); XXXV. 3 rationlae (rationale); XXXXII. 2 siribit (scribit); XXXXVI significacionem; LI. 8 percimonia; LIV nea (mea); LXII nascisrecis (nancisceris); LXIV. 3 lustraverit.

6. Ceterum orthographiam quamvis insolentem (cf. XXXV. 2 mutrone (mucrone) : cf. LV. 11 spurte (spurge), at in LXIII. 2 poplices pro poplites!; LXV paupirus = papyrus) et inconstantem (ratio/racio, etc.) diligenter servavi. Interpunxi autem secundum sensum.²

* * *

² Editionis praefationem e Nederlandico Latine vertit Iosephus IJsewijn.

Eruditissimi in primis ac Reverendi Viri Domini et Magistri Anthonii Haneron De Coloribus Verborum Sententiarumque cum Figuris Grammaticalibus Tractatus Incipit Feliciter.

I 1. <G>ramaticales figure, velut Augustinus perhibet, ad scripturarum intelligenciam permultum conferunt, quia vel in propriis verbis fiunt vel in translaticiis. Et certum est ex huiuscemodi dictionibus omnes solere scripturas contexi.

2. Figure predictae ad orationis venustacionem plurimum conferunt adiumenti, ferme siquidem omnes scematis species aut tropi inter oratorias exornaciones assolent numerari. 3. Homines autem ad venuste dictionis concupiscentiam sunt suapte natura proclives ut, qua in re homo bestiis prestet, in ea ipsi ceteris hominibus splendore facundie antecellant. 4. Itaque apprime iocundum cognitu est que nam sunt verborum atque sententiarum exornaciones, quibus laudatissimi oratores et poete conceptas prius sententias accuratissime atque dignissime p. 2 vel edisserere / vel conscribere enisi sunt, ut cunctis a posteris ingenti gloria clarificentur, nec etas ulla suis de laudibus conticescat. 5. Sed hiis, qui gramatice student, multo futurum reor iocundius si perfecte norint quantam figure gramaticales cum rethoricis coloribus vicinitatem, ymmo proprie ydemptitatem contineant, quamvis utrimque appellacionis esse varietas videatur. 6. Etsi de exornacionum cum prefatis figuris consonancia varii famentur editi esse tractatuli, ut verum fatear, meas in manus ne adhuc quidem venere. Itaque quid de presenti materia priores magno freti ingenio parique diligencia ante hoc conscripserint nescire me fateor. 7. Propter unius tamen preces amici quod Deus michi suggesserit libens ipse conscribam. Sat michi erit ut, quod institui atque sponendi, opitulante Deo, solvam. 8. Rethoricos igitur colores iuxta seriem Tullianam conabor exprimere, et aliquem explanans colorem p. 3 simul edisseram que ei figura gramaticalis correspondeat. /

II 1. <P>riusquam meum exequar institutum, de generibus dicendi, videlicet elegancia et compositione, nonnulla premittam. 2. Oratores tria esse dicendi genera affirmarunt, attenuatum, mediocre, sublime; et

I. 1 Augustinus, *De Doctrina Christiana* III, 87 : Quos tamen tropos qui noverunt agnoscunt in litteris sanctis eorumque scientia ad eas intelligendas aliquantum adjuvantur.

8 "iuxta seriem Tullianam" : cfr Incerti auctoris *de ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium libri IV* (ed. Fr. Marx, cum add. W. Trillitzsch, Lipsiae 1964).

II. 1-5 ad Her. IV, 11.

hec, quibus a seinvicem differentiis segregantur, scilicet verbis, constructione, sententiis, coloribus, effectibus. 3. In infimo siquidem et attenuato genere orator auditorem docere conatur. Usitatissimis igitur cognitissimisque verbis utitur, que simplici sistit in ordine, quemadmodum vulgata locucionis optinet consuetudo; et sentencias de rebus infimis in pertinentibus ad edocendum coloribus explanat. 4. Orator in genere mediocri volens auditorem cognoscentem aliququaliter afficere voluptate verbis eorumque ordine, sententiis atque dignitatibus mediocribus utitur. 5. In grandiloquio vero ad animum concitandum prefata in summa sint oportet.

6. Elegans dicitur esse oratio, que ab omni dictionis vel orationis vicio prorsus immunis, usitatis propriisque verbis conficitur. 7. Compositio autem dictionum tunc inepta esse consequitur, cum frequens efficitur vocalium concursio, utpote si, cum dictio prior in vocalem desinerit, dictio / sequens tunc eciam incipiat a vocali. Si tamen absque p. 4 crebra vocalium positione sententialis servari non possit integritas, sacius est vocales concurrere quam sentencie totalitatem diminui.

8. Mala enim compositio est cum dictiones multe sibi proxime sociate ab eadem littera ibi inchoant [elemento], vel cum verbum multociens supervacane iteratur, vel cum dictionis unius obscura fit in suas partes divisio, vel cum verba sonitu finita sub uno continue efferuntur, vel cum dictiones eiusdem casualitatis atque consone desinencie sibimet contigue collocantur, vel cum dictiones una constructibiles aliorum interpositione terminorum a seinvicem nimium disiunguntur.

III. 1. <E>xornationes orationis a Marco Tulio Cicerone scriptum est duorum esse modorum: quedam siquidem in verbis consistunt; illas verborum nos dicimus esse colores. Quedam vero in sententiis consistunt, et ille sententiarum exornationes communiter appellantur.

2. Utrinque taliter poterit internosci differentia: si ornatus in verbis eorumque serie vel constructione situs fuerit, mutatis verbis aut eis secus ac / pridem dislocatis secundum eundem venustationis modum p. 5 color idem non permanet. 3. Cum vero in rebus ipsis, quae verborum sunt commendande tegminibus, venustas constiterit eloquendi, tunc quantumlibet varientur res eedem et verbis aliis depromantur, eadem nimirum sententiarum venustas perseverat.

6 ad Her. IV, 17.

7-8 ad Her. IV, 18.

III. 1 ad Her. IV, 18.

4. Verborum exornationes primitus exordiar explanare, cum postea ad sententiarum progrediar.

IV 1. <R>epetitio est cum plurium principiis orationum contiguarum eadem dictio crebro iteratur. Et hoc colore in ratione, qua quippiam confirmare conamur aut labefactare, creberrimum uti consuevimus.

2. Exemplum ut :

... *Michi iussa capessere fas est.*

Tu michi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptras Iovemque

Conciliat; tu das epulis accumbere divum.

3. Item : *Scipio Num<id>as sustulit, Carthaginem destruxit. Scipio pacem peperit. Scipio civitatem destruxit.*

4. Et hic color apud gramaticos "anaphora" nuncupatur, quam inter species scematis dilucide satis explicuit Alexander.

V 1. <C>onversio est cum in finibus multarum orationum dictio p. 6 eadem sepe repetitur, ut : *Gramaticam tu / scis, logicam tu scis, rethoricam tu scis.*

2. Color iste nullam proprie in gramatica figuram habet, que sibi plane respondet. Ad omoleonton tamen propter extimam consonanciam referre licebit. 3. Et ista exornatio veluti preiens et subsequens in confirmatione et confutatione per amplificationem vel conquestionem locum sibi poterit vindicare.

VI 1. <C>omplexio est cum in eisdem orationibus continenter locatis una dictio sepe in principio repetitur et alia in fine sepe numero iteratur.

2. Exemplum ut : *Magnis dignus es laudum preconiiis sublimari. Tu enim gramatice congruitates didicisti, tuque subtiles argutasque logicorum ratiocinationes didicisti, tu denique rethorico more venuste dicere didicisti.* 3. Palam est quod "tu" hic in orationum principiis crebra sit vice repetitum, quodque "didicisti" postremas sibi orationum partes polite vendicent. 4. Hic etiam color sub gramaticalis figure nomine ab Alexandro distincte nuspiam traditur. 5. Ad epinalempsim tamen non absurde reducitur. Ibi enim dictio, quae in principio statuitur, etiam in fine collocatur, ut :

Crescit amor nummi, quantum pecunia crescit.

IV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 19.

2 Vergilius, *Aen.* I. 77-79.

4 Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* (ed. D. Reichling, Berolini 1893), 2447.

V. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 19.

VI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 20.

5 Juvenalis, 14, 138 : *Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.*

VII 1. Traductio est cum dictio in diversis casibus aut / significatis p. 7 sepe locatur. 2. Exemplum primi, ut : *Ego homo te rogo hominem*; ut : *tu pauper miseraris pauperem*. 3. Exemplum secundi, ut : *Verus est amor quo abs te amor*; et : *iocundum est amari, si nichil insit amari*. 4. Traductio in gramatica “poliptoton” nuncupatur. Significativa vero traductio correspondentem sibi in gramatica nullam figuram habet.

VIII 1. <C>ontencio est cum absque repugnancia uni rei opposita tribuuntur, ut : *Ante hoc fui statura pusillus, nunc vero sum grandis; labor est mihi quies; inopia est mihi divicie, fletus quoque risus*. Hec est verborum contencio. 2. Quae vero sit sententiarum, posterius dicam.

3. Cum ista exornatio nullam e gramaticis figuris sibi consonantem obtineat, iam temporis haut plus de ea profabor. De sequentibus dignitatibus, quae nullam habent cum figuris conformitatem, solas diffinitiones cum distinctis exemplis conscribam, nisi rei cuiuspiam declarande gratia quiddam oporteat assistere.

IX 1. <E>xclamatio est cum boni malive amplificandi causa hominem, locum, factum aut rem ullam aliam exclamando alloquimur. Et hac in amplificatione potissimum utendum est, cum rei alicuius mag/nificative rationes antecesserunt. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Qui uni dumtaxat homini propter rei familiaris clandestinam subductionem dampnificenciam irrogare non metuit, illud apprime facinorose molitus est, et equo iuris moderamine immanissimos dignus est suspensionis gutturee perpeti cruciatus. Quam ergo ille nepharie perpetravit, qui ob nummorum inexplabilem cupiditatem atque propter compendium lucrificandum innocentissimum hominem Ihesum, ymmo ipsam innocentiam efferata mente ac ingrattissima in horrendum discrimen necis induxit. Hoc profecto Iudas effecit. O pessimum hominem! O feram sevissimam! O hostem truculentissimum! Qui non externis in rebus, sed in vita preciosissima superoptimo homini, ymmo Deo intulit dampnificationem!*

X 1. <I>nterrogatio est cum argumenta ad alicuius propositi roborationem dicta superius paucis sub verbis recolligimus et concludimus per interrogationem. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Si possim, velim notum facere si alteri amico admodum ero gratum facturum, si profuturus ero compluribus. Cur quod tantopere et facile est factum et acceptum atque frugiferum, efficere denega/rem?*

p. 9

VII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 20.

VIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 21.

IX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 22.

X. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 22.

3. Augustinus dicit vetustos oratores inter percontationem et interrogationem hanc assignare solere differentiam : percontatio siquidem est cum ad questionem non potest "ita" vel "non" responderi, ut : *Quis bonus est aratro?* 4. Interrogatio vero est, cum ad factam questionem "ita" vel "non" convenienter poterit responderi, ut : *Cum multum tibi ante hoc bonitatis impenderim, nonne iustum est ut meo rursus arbitrio obsecundes?* Hic apte valebit "ita" responderi.

XI 1. Ratiocinatio est cum nos a nobis alicuius propositi rationem querendo exposcimus : quam tamen nos protinus subicimus respondendo, ut : *O Petre, studeas Domino famulari! Quid ita? Quia te plasmavit. Num aliam quoque ob causam? Certe! quam crebris vicibus post tua tibi peccata pepercit! Post quae? Post incuriam studendi, inobedienciam parentum atque magistrorum, post mendacia et cetera puerilia delicta. Qui a tantis totque malis te eruit, nonne illi rationabiliter satages deservire?*

XII 1. <S>entencia est generalis oratio, quae ad bonam vitam attineant breviter ostendens. Quaternis autem modis isto solemus uti p. 10 colore. 2. Aut enim sententiam simplicem aut duplicem absque superadiuncta ratione proferimus, si utraque perspicua sit, ut neutra alicuius egeat rationis; aut sententiam simplicem aut duplicem cum subdita proferimus ratione, si propter dubietatem dimovendam quolibet adiuncte rationis indigeat. 3. Exemplum de sententia simplici absque ratione, ut : *Qui bene fecerit, bene habebit.* Exemplum de duplici sine ratione, ut : *Qui bene fecerit, bene habebit; qui autem male fecerit, male habebit.* 4. Exemplum de simplici cum ratione, ut : *Puer honorabit parentem, quia ab illo esse suscepit, et quia Deus filio imperavit suum honorificare parentem.* Exemplum de duplici sententia cum ratione, ut : *Puer parentem honore prosequens probe facit; nam et divino morem gerit imperio et ortus sui principium veneratur. At puer improbe perpetrat, qui nullam honorificenciam suo exhibet genitori; nam et divinum contempnit mandatum et erga suum procreatorem penitus ingratus reperitur.* 5. Senes, quorum interest alios erudire, debebunt vitales proferre sentencias.

3 August., *De Doctrina Christiana* III, 12 : Inter percontationem autem et interrogationem hoc veteres interesse dixerunt, quod ad percontationem multa responderi possunt, ad interrogationem vero aut Non aut Etiam.

XI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 23.

XII. 1-2 ad Her. lib. IV (V), 24.

3 Cfr. H. Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters*, II, 4, (Göttingen, 1966) p. 138, nr. 2384a : Qui bene fecerunt, illos sua facta sequuntur.

XIII 1. <C>ontrarium est cum res una diversa per aliam comprobatur, sed posterior oratio per interrogatio/nem profertur, ut : *Vir p. 11 maiori pollet valencia quam puer. Vir autem hunc ingentem lapidem movere non valet. Si ergo vir saxum movere non possit, an puer posset? Si fortior nequiat, an quiet debilior?*

XIV 1. Membrum est oratio cathgorica, quae pars est ypothetice propositionis copulative vel disiunctive. Exemplum, ut : *Mane surrexi et ivi ad ecclesiam et horas meas persolvi.* 2. Et quamvis oratio membrata duobus possit ex membris constitui, nonnumquam tamen ex tribus vel quatuor vel quinque aut sex aut ad summum ex septem tocius oracionis ambitus consummatur; et inter membrum quodlibet quedam erit silencii pausa facienda.

3. Vetusti existimarunt in decenti membrorum compositione maximam dicendi consistere venustatem.

XV 1. <A>rticulus, dictus ab Alexandro “dialiton”, est cum dictiones multe vel multa cesa absque ullius interpositione coniunctionis efferuntur, sed loco coniunctionis post quamlibet pausabitur dictionem. 2. Exemplum primi, ut : *Gramaticam, logicam, rethoricam didicisti.* Exemplum secundi, ut : *In gramatice congruitate, in dialectice argumentationis acumine, in oratorii splen/dore sermonis existis egregie eruditus.* p. 12 3. Item cesum est oratiuncula quedam imperfecta.

XVI 1. <C>ontinuatio est cum prior conclusio est imperfecta, donec ei posterior subiungatur. Et in hac continuatione unum verbum crebro solet repeti, ut : *Qui bene fecerit, bene habebit.* 2. Palam est quod hic prior oratio, post quam subticetur, sentencie complementum non habeat, donec ei subsequens oratio continenter assistatur. 3. Et hac continuatione in tribus solemus uti coloribus, in sententia, contrario, conclusionem. In sententia sic : *Qui vicerit, ille coronabitur;* in contrario sic : *Si ipse gigantem devicerit, an puerum vincere non valeret?;* in conclusionem sic : *Si ille qui vicerit coronabitur, et si sanctus Paulus devicit, liquide consequitur eum esse coronandum.*

XVII 1. <C>ompar est cum membra plura in pari fere sillabarum numero proferuntur. Exemplum, ut : *Petrus dormivit. Librum conscripsit. Illum distraxit.* 2. Orator membrorum sillabas non super digitos

XIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 25.

XIV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 26.

XV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 26; Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2495 sq.

XVI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 27.

XVII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 27.

numerabit ut plane dinoscat sit ne membrum unum in sillabica multitudine par alteri nec ne, sed sufficit ut secundum aurium iudicium membra orationis / esse equisillaba videantur. 3. Interdum contingit ut unum membrum plures habeat sillabas sed breviores, alterum vero pauliores sed longiores et accentu tuncque leviores, hoc pacto : tam et si inter membra non prorsus sit equa sillabarum numerositas, propter factam utrimque compensationem poterit videri.

XVIII <S>imiliter cadens est cum dictiones due vel plures in eisdem casibus proferuntur, ut : *Gregorius in sermone est pollitior Cicerone*. Item : *Melior est alauda quam pavonis cauda*.

XIX 1. <S>imiliter desinens est cum dictiones non casuales simili exitu depromuntur, ut : *Iohannes probe vitam degit, quia semper quoddam boni legit*. 2. Sepenumero qui recte hiis utuntur coloribus — de binis ultimis loquor — eos in eadem oratione sepiissima vice collocant. Exemplum, ut : *Qui celsum natum videt, propter bassum statum ridet*. 3. Similiter cadencia et similiter desinencia atque omnis rigmica locutio ad eam dicuntur gramaticalem pertinere figuram, que “omoleonton” appellatur.

4. Hiis autem exornationibus, que ne bene quidem absque studio et meditatione reperiri posse videntur, perra/ro utendum erit, ne puerili verborum consonancia putemur delectari.

XX 1. <A>gnominatio est cum dictiones in voce pene similes diversa designant, ut : *Tu non queris vera, sed era*.

2. Agnominatio per variam dictionis mutacionem fieri assolet. Aliquando enim dictio una litteram unam aut plures minus habet quam altera, aliquando vero habet amplius; aliquando dictio curta prius, postea longatur, aut sillabe mutatur accentus, aut littera commutatur, aut earundem litterarum series variatur, aut dictio una per casuum inflectionem ordinariam finetenus permutatur. 3. De omnibus hiisce modis exempla clare subicerem, nisi ea satis esse cognita cuiquam estimarem. Huius eciam usus coloris perrarus esse debet. 4. In gramatica ei “peranomazia” correspondet. Nam velut Alexander inquit, *Voces pene pares, que sunt diversa notantes dant peranomaziam*.

XVIII ad Her. IV (V), 28.

Cfr H. Walther II, 2 (1964) p. 851, nr. 14589 : *Melior alauda quam leporis candida cauda*.

XIX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 28.

2 Hoc exemplum non est in H. Walther.

XX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 29.

4 Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2474.

XXI 1. <S>ubiectio est cum interrogamus quid aut contra nos, aut pro adversariis dici possit, et id refellimus respondentes, ut nec obesse nobis nec adversariis esse presidio videatur. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Quod a me peti/visti, id nulla tibi ratione possum negare. Cur enim tuis votis non obtemperarem. An quia non sum gnarus id, quod a me deposcitum est, faciendi? At ea in re penes artis precepciones [ne minimo quidem tempore] me dudum exercui. An tue nollem satisfacere voluntati? Sed tibi bene de me promerito nichilum valeo iure negare. An collati in me benefacti immemor? Minime, cum beneficiorum obliviscenciam velut improbissimam coner defugere. Si ergo nulla michi possit causa suppetere, qua persuadere michi valeam ut iam fas sit nullatenus tua iussa capescere, quod a me factum iri voluisti, libentissimum exhibicione adimplebo.* 3. Iste color cum confutacione rationum multo pulcherrime collocatur.

XXII 1. <G>radacio est cum verbum prius dictum, antequam procedatur, repetitur. Exemplum, ut : *Studium parit scienciam, sciencia gloriam, gloria invidiam.*

2. Hic color in gramatica "anadiplosis" appellatur. Ista exornacio appositissime in alicuius approbacione propositi vel reprobacione assolet situari.

XXIII 1. <D>iffinitio est oratio quid esse rei breviter in/dicans et p. 16 perfecte. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Ille est fur, cum sibi ratio furis tota conveniat. Fur equidem est qui rem alienam invito domino clam subduxit. Cum ille hoc fecerit, qui eum esse furem inficiaretur?*

XXIV 1. <T>ransicio est cum breviter commemoramus quid predictum sit, et cum proponimus qua de re inferius sit dicendum. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Dicto de nomine, dicendum est de verbo.*

XXV 1. Correctio est cum pro verbo prius posito aliud magis ydoneum collocamus. Et hec correctio augendi aliquid minuendive causa variis modis efficitur. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Petrus non intelligit parum, ymmo multum. Ipse non est ignarus, sed gnarus. Ipse scit aliquid, aliquid autem boni. Ipse pridem fuit inscius, sed scienciam adeptus est.*

3. Alios correctionis modos per se facile quisque notabit.

XXI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 33.

XXII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 34.

2 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2446.

XXIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 35.

XXIV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 35.

XXV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 36.

XXVI 1. Occultacio est cum dicimus nos aliquid aut dicere nolle aut facere, quod tamen maxime dicimus aut facimus. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Aliquid de Petro dicerem, si auderem; sed vereor eum meis verbis posse ad*
 p. 17 *iracundiam concitari. Itaque de ipso prorsus / silebo. Non dico quod binos ipse filtreos calceos fovendi pedes gratia induit; taceo quod libens per tempora longa dormiret, quod libenter ipse ludendi habeat licenciam. Id prorsus subiticeo; nullum inde verbum eloquor, ne Petrus michi incipiat succensere.*

XXVII 1. <D>isiunctio est cum quolibet dictio recta suam habeat dictionem regentem, ut : *Video Iohannem, intueor Petrum.* Item : *Vvilhelmus est subtilis ingenio, tenax memoria, facundus eloquio.* 2. Item ad disiunctionem requiritur quod verba vel adiectiva exigencia dictiones regentes referantur ad unum suppositum vel substantivum.

XXVIII 1. <C>oniunctio est cum dictio regens in duarum medio dictionum rectarum locatur. Exemplum, ut : *Iohannem video et Vvilhelmum.* 2. Et dicitur coniunctio, quia per ipsum colorem due orationes coniunguntur per verbum interpositum.

XXIX 1. <A>diunctio est cum dictio una multos casus gubernans aut illis prefertur, aut postponitur. Exemplum primi, ut : *Video Augustinum et Iheronimum.* Exemplum secundi, ut : *Petrum et Andream diligo.*
 p. 18 2. Coniunctio et adiunctio in gramatica "zeuma" locutio/nis vel "silempsis" nuncupantur.

XXX 1. Conduplicatio est cum verbum unum vel plura amplificandi boni malive causa repetuntur. Exemplum, ut : *Iudas tradidit Xristum; Xristum Iudas tradidit.* 2. In hac autem conduplicacione necesse est priorum verborum pronunciationem mutari, ut que prius dicta sint leviter, posterius acriter referantur et sonitu dicantur elevatiore.

3. Iste color "episeusis" in gramatica nominatur.

XXXI 1. Interpretacio est cum sententia semel dicta iterum aut sepius sub verbis aliis tantundem significantibus explicatur. Exemplum, ut : *Patrem necasti, genitorem interfecisti, parentem peremisti.* 2. Isti

XXVI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 37.

XXVII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 37.

XXVIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 38.

XXIX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 38.

2 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2445.

XXX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 38.

3 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2447.

XXXI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 38.

duo colores rem dignam memoratu audiencium mentibus per verborum reiterationem aut sententiarum infigunt.

XXXII 1. Commutatio est cum quedam fit verborum conversio et sententiarum. Exemplum, ut : *Non discipulus magistrum, sed magister docebit discipulum.*

2. Iste color in gramatica vocatur "antimetabola", veluti precedens color, scilicet interpretatio, nominatur "tautologia"./ p. 19

XXXIII 1. <P>ermissio est cum dicimus quod nos et omnia nostra alterius tradimus potestati. 2. Exemplum, ut : *O pie Xriste, scio et fateor quia multa michi beneficia contulisti. Libens adversum te gratus existerem; preter me habeo nichil. Me totum tibi reddo et tue confero potestati. Totus ego tuus; me tuo, uti voles, utere.*

XXXIV 1. <D>ubitatio est cum ambigimus quid de duobus pocius vel quid potissimum de pluribus dicemus, ut : *Vvilhelmus scit gramaticam. Gramaticam dicam, ni etiam logicam? Ut rectius fatear, utramque.* 2. Item : *Petrus est mediocris; nescio an verius possem dicere quod Andreas optimus est atque omnium prestantissimus.*

XXXV 1. <E>xpedicio est cum per locum a divisione argumentantes vel cunctas affirmationes reprehendendo negative concludimus; aut omnia membra preter unum tollentes, id unum subiecto inesse concludimus. 2. Exemplum ut : *Abel occisus est ab homine; aut ergo a seipso, aut a parentibus, aut a Chaim. Non enim eo tempore plures in mundo homines extabant. Sed a seipso non est occisus, quia iustus erat; nec a parentibus, quia eum tenerrime dilexerunt. Pa/lam itaque sequitur a p. 20 Caym innocuum Abel sevo mutrone necatum.* 3. Item sic aliud datur exemplum, ut : *Homo est animal; aut ergo est animal rationale, aut irrationale. Non autem est animal irrationale, itaque est animal rationale.*

XXXVI 1. <D>issolutio est cum multe orationes absque interpositis coniunctionibus proferuntur. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Multos ipse conscribere libros. Codices ediscere laborato. Ingens clericus fieri stude.*

XXXVII 1. Precisio est cum quiddam dicimus, ex quo residua prenosci queat sententia, quam tamen totaliter non effamur. 2. Exemplum,

XXXII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 39.

2 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2610 sq.; 2366.

XXXIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 39.

XXXIV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 40.

XXXV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 40-41.

XXXVI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 41.

XXXVII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 41.

ut : *Si bene feceris, gaudio pocieris. Sin autem male, tu acerbissime ... sed nolo dicere.*

3. Et hic color in gramatica “aposiopasis” nuncupatur.

XXXVIII 1. <C>onclusio est cum breviter ostenditur quid ex prius dictis aut factis consequatur. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Si Vvilhelmus esurit, ipse desiderat manducare. Vvilhelmus autem esurit. Itaque recte concludo quod Vvilhelmus desiderat manducare.*

XXXIX 1. <N>ominatio est cum alicui rei non habenti nomen aut
p. 21 non satis ydoneum novum nomen imponimus, significacionis vel imitacionis causa. 2. Exemplum primi, ut : *Hostibus in urbem irruentibus possum dicere : “hec urbs est magnum passa fragorem”, idest, urbs confringetur ac interibit velut arbor, que ob vim fractionis sonitum exprimit fragoralem.* 3. Exemplum secundi, ut : *Homo mugit, idest, similem bovi sonitum emittit grossum et anhelatum.* 4. Raro vocabulum aliquod novum fingetur.

XXXX 1. Pronominatio est cum, proprio nomine subdito, loco eius rem quampiam ex aliquo suorum accidencium nominamus. 2. Sic aliquis appellatur vel pronominatur luscus, dives, amicus, consanguineus, nepos, et sic de aliis.

XXXXI 1. Denominatio est cum res aliquae adinvicem referuntur, et nomen unius pro alia collocatur. Per hunc colorem inventor ponitur pro invento, vel econtra; aut instrumentum pro agente principali, ut : *Culter aliquem sauciavit, idest : homo quempiam lesit cultello.* 2. Aliquando causa ponitur pro effectu, ut luxuria pro luxurioso, aurum pro anulo, ferrum pro gladio ferreo; ut : *Iste est ferro peremptus.* 3. Ali-
p. 22 quando continens capitur pro contento, ut : *Tota Daventria hic extat congregata, idest : Omnes Daventrienses.* 4. Hic color usque adeo est est celebris usitacionis ut non modo rethores et poete, verumeciam vulgares in quotidiano sermone eo utantur. 5. Et multas sub se continet species methonomie. Ad hunc colorem etiam reduci potest ypallagium.

XXXXII 1. <C>ircuicio est cum pro dictione oratio collocatur. Exemplum, ut : *Acumen stili muri duriciam penetravit, idest : Stilus murum pertransiit.* 2. Item : *Iohannis artificiositas litterarum lineamenta figurat, idest : Iohannes scribit.*

XXXVIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 41.

XXXIX. ad Her. IV (V), 42.

XXXX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 42.

XXXXI. ad Her. IV (V), 43.

XXXXII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 43.

3. Et ista exornatio in gramatica “perifrasis” appellatur.

XXXXIII 1. <T>ransgressio est cum verba secus ut rectus constructionis ordo deprecit, efferuntur. Et fit dupliciter per transiectionem et perversionem. 2. Transiectionis quidem est cum dictiones, quae in constructione sibi proxime iungerentur, per aliarum interpositionem dictionum a se invicem dimoventur, ut cum adiectivum separatur a substantivo, verbum ab adverbio, prepositio a suo casuali, coniunctio a coniunctis, suppositum ab apposito, dictio regens a recta. 3. Exemplum, / ut : p. 23 *Vvilhelmus multam michi beneficienciam demonstravit*. Hic suppositum ab apposito separatur et adiectivum a substantivo. 4. Perversio vero est cum preponenda verba postponuntur, vel econtra, ut : *Placcam michi dedit Vvilhelmus*. 5. Oratores in variis transiectionibus atque verborum perversionibus magnopere sese exercitare sueti sunt.

6. Et in gramatica transiectionis dicitur “parenthesis”, perversio vero “anastrophe” nuncupatur.

XXXXIV 1. Superlatio est cum alicuius rei augende vel minuende causa supra manifestam dicimus veritatem. Et aliquando quidem fit absolute, ut : *Si inter nos pacem servaverimus, totius nimirum orbis dominium nanciscemur*. 2. Aliquando vero fit cum quadam comparatione simili vel excellentiori. Simili sic : *Ipse est tam amarus quam fel*. Excellentiori vero sic : *Ipse est felle amarior*. 3. Hic color “yperbole” nuncupatur.

XXXXV 1. Intellectio est cum totum ponitur pro parte, vel econtra; vel unum pro pluribus, aut econtra. 2. Exemplum primi, ut : *Mande panem*, idest “partem”. Item : *Verbum factum est caro*, idest “homo”. 3. Exemplum secundi, ut : *Et veris elegi fletibus ora rigant*, idest “os”./ p. 24 *Ego multum dentem amisi*, idest “dentes”.

4. Harum intellectionum prior vocatur “synodoche”, posterior vero “silempsis”.

XXXXVI Abusio est cum dictiones alicue valde finitimam habent, significationem et una pro alia collocatur, ut : *Ille est paucus homo*, idest “parvus”, et : *sermonem magnum multumque effecit*, idest “longum”.

3 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2500.

XXXXIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 44.

6 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2528.

XXXXIV. ad Her. IV (V), 44.

3 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2501.

XXXXV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 44.

4 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2500; 2445.

XXXXVI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 45.

XXXXVII 1. <T>ranslacio est cum res una alteri est similis et nomen unius rei ad aliam transfertur, ut : *Iste habet manus niveas*, idest “albas”; *et rosea labra*, idest “rubea”, *dentesque eburneos*, idest “albos”. 2. *Lactea seu mellea verba profert*, idest “dulcia”. Sic homo rapax “lupus” dicitur, et mordax “canis”, et mitis “agnus”.

XXXXVIII 1. <P>ermutacio est cum oratio aliam habet sententiam quam verba proferre videntur. Et fit per simile, vel per contrarium. 2. Per simile sic, ut : *Ista est sancta Agnes*, idest “casta velut Agnes”; *Ille est Iudas*, idest “traditor innocentis hominis, sicut Iudas”. 3. Per contrarium vero sic, ut cum dico cuiquam pigro : *Quam fervidus es tu, et agilis!* Aut cum spurca de femina loquor : *Quam casta est ista!* Nonne p. 25 *hec sancta Agnes esse putatur?* 4. In gramatica permuta/tio per simile “paradigma”, et per contrarium “yronia” vocatur, quemadmodum translatio superior nuncupatur.

XXXXIX <D>icto de coloribus verborum, iam de sententiarum exornacionibus erit dicendum.

L <D>istributio est cum unicuique suum datur officium. Exemplum, ut : *Officium domini est precipere, officium vero servi obedire*.

LI 1. <L>icencia est cum superiores nostros vel amicos licite reprehendimus, ut nobis non succenseant. Fit autem licencia dupliciter, scilicet acriter et leviter. 2. Si acriter quempiam obiurgare voluerimus, eum primo laudabimus, deinde reprehendemus. Et si propter obiurgacionem irasci ceperit, obortam iracundiam subiuncto laudamine sopiemus. 3. Exemplum, ut : *Quondam valde ferventer studio te dedisti, Petre. Tunc etenim totis in scolis nemo tui poterat studii diligenciam imitari. Sed nimium ammiror quod, pristino studii ardore deserto, negligencie te desidieque dedas*. 4. *Nonne quod priscis annis magna studendi instancia nactus eras, tibi prorsus omne sensim dilabatur? Nonne hoc est tempus disperditum iri? Nonne paternas pecunias, magno congestas sudore,* p. 26 *inutiliter et tur/piter consumpsisti? Si studium sit malum, cur id tam avidè assumpsisti? Si vero sit bonum, cur illud inconstanter deseruisti?* 5. *Itaque veterem tuam laudabilem requiro consuetudinem et vehementer a te*

XXXXVII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 45.

XXXXVIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 46.

4 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2563; 2544.

XXXXIX. ad Her. IV (V), 46.

L ad Her. lib. IV (V), 47.

LI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 48.

efflagito ut, quemadmodum olim discendis rebus animum tuum laudabiliter intenderas, ita laudabilius continuare studium velis et laudabilissime consummare. 6. Aliquando eciam leviter aliquem reprehendimus, et quidem bipertito; scilicet cum reverencia, vel sub nomine virtutis cum excessu. 7. Exemplum, ut : *Aliquid in te mali perspexi, Petre, sed nescio an id ausim corripere. Non enim scio quo nam modo increpationem suscipies. Set quia video per meam taciturnitatem multum tibi posse dampni imminere, ad salutem tuam quiddam loquar oportet.* 8. Exemplum secundi, ut : *Tu libenter ociaris, Petre! Nunquam codicem intueris, nec discitas olim lecciones vel semel curas revisere. Nimum corpus tuum curas, nimum quoque parcis ocellis. Sed revera hec non est oculorum parcimonia, sed amissio sciencie, tenebracio intellectus, offensio parentum, magistrorum dehonoricencia, scandalizatio sociorum!|*

LII 1. Diminutio est cum superbie vitande causa laudem nostram p. 27 vel nostrorum paululum diminuimus; in omnibus tamen nos esse minimos denegamus. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Ego non sum ineloquentissimus, non sum pauperrimus, non sum imperitissimus*, idest “ego sum eloquentissimus, ditissimus, peritissimus.”

LIII 1. <D>ivisio est cum argumentando duas aut plures partes petitionem efficimus, et suam cuique parti subicimus rationem. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Perperam ex scola mansisti. Scola siquidem aut displicuit tibi, aut placuit. Si displicuit, cur intendisti? Si placuit, cur existi?.* 3. Ad huiuscemodi divisionem taliter solet ad utramque partem commutata dari responsio : *Si scola placuit, cur non intrassem? Si displicuit, cur non exivissem?*

LIV Frequentacio est cum rationes omnes sparsim longeque disserte superius in orationis fine breviter repetuntur, ut : *Peccavi, et super numerum arene maris multiplicata est iniquitas mea. Non sum dignus videre altitudinem celi pre multitudine iniquitatis mee.*

LV 1. <E>xpolitio est cum in eadem sententia permanemus, et p. 28 tamen aliud atque aliud propositum rationibus variis approbamus, eandem rem sub aliis verbis aut alia pronunciacione vel tractatione sepius referimus. 2. Sub aliis verbis sic : *Presbiter divinas scripturas addiscet, sacerdotis fungetur officio, sacrarum intelligenciam paginarum percipere laborabit. Et ille dictatos a sacro Pneumate libros agnoscere*

LII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 50.

LIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 52.

LIV ad Her. IV (V), 52.

LV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 54.

- curabit, qui conficiendi eucaristie sacramenti potestatem et ordinem accep-
tavit.* 3. Sub alia pronuntiacione verba eadem expoliendo repetuntur,
ut : *Sacerdos leget divinos libros, divinos libros leget sacerdos.* 4. Res
eadem aut per sermocinacionem tractatur aut per exsuscitationem.
5. Per sermocinacionem quidem sic : *Sacerdos, qui divinos libros sibi
putat esse legendos, sepe ita secum loquitur : “Ad presbiterii culmen, Deo
permittente, deveni. Ut divine paream voluntati, ut Deo obsequar, ut
denique quid Ipse fieri iubeat sedula vestigacione perquiram, ex nullo
me reor melius divinam posse cognoscere voluntatem quam e sacris paginis,
quas Deus michi velut Sue voluntatis monimenta reliquit. Nichil ergo michi
p. 29 videor facere / posse melius quam ut sacras litteras perlegam, et perlegens
intelligam, et intelligens divine satisfaciam voluntati. Quare”, sacerdos
secum loquitur, “semper ego divinorum codicum intelligencie insudavi”.*
6. Per exsuscitationem vero sic : *Quis tam stultus esset, tam parve mentis,
tam denique rerum ignarus ut nesciret eum magnis dignum esse laudibus,
qui sacras paginas crebra vice pervolutat, qui divinarum conatur scrip-
turarum intelligenciam adipisci, qui denique sancte divineque sapiencie
percipiende animos totos intendit?*
7. Dicto quomodo res eadem crebro dici poterit, dicendum est quali-
ter idem propositum variis poterit rationibus stabiliri. 8. Primo pone-
tur sententia simplex cum ratione; secundo ratio alia cum proposito
sub verbis commutatis explicito; tercio sententia duplex ponetur cum
ratione duplici; quarto contrarium statuetur; quinto simile locabitur;
sexto exemplum congruens subiungetur; septimo concludetur. 9. Sen-
tentia predicta hac quibit manerie expoliri, ut : *Sacerdos sacras scrip-
turas addiscet ut divinam possit agnoscere voluntatem. Et quoniam pres-
biter puras in corde suo cogitationes volutabit divinis e paginis malos
p. 30 eruet / cogitatus.* 10. *Qui ergo sacerdotali sublimatus officio sacratas
litteras percipere negligit, perperam facit. Nam quod Deus velit ignorat,
et animus suus impurarum cogitationum sordibus inquinatur.* 11. *At
ille presbiter sapienter efficit, qui volumina sacro dictata Pneumate sedule
perlegitat. Nam superne fit conscius voluntatis, et cordis penetralia
sincera meditatione decorat. Etenim vehementer iniquum est ut, cum sacer-
dos habere divini queat arbitrii notionem, eius esse malit ignarus et, cum
mentem ab omni prorsus spurte pensitacionis lue retentare valeat expur-
gatam, impuris eciam velit cogitationum incursibus sordidari.* 12. *Quem-
admodum volucris mollem mavult mundum quoque nidum habere quam
fetidis fedum stercoribus, ita sacerdos mundam potius animam et purificos
cogitatus habere concupiet quam anime nidum stercoreis velit sordibus*

contaminari; et sicut iuvat avem plene dinoscere quo ex loco futura corpus pabula valeat reperire, ita etiam magna sacerdoti voluptas incidit, cum e notis divinarum locis scripturarum pasturas animam veritatis escas extrahit studiose. 13. *Itaque Augustinus, Ihero/nimus et alii sancti sacerdotes* p. 31 *probe michi fecisse videntur, qui die noctuque meditari in lege Domini consueverunt.* 14. *Si ergo rationibus et exemplo patefactum est sacerdotem divinis debere paginis studendi ferviditatem adhibere, presbiter sacras perdiscere litteras enitetur.*

LVI 1. <C>ommoracio est cum ad principale propositum per diversas rationes sepius revenimus, veluti predicanes efficiunt, qui thema suum crebro reiterant. 2. Et hoc possumus uti colore, cum expoliendo de re eadem per varias loquimur rationes.

LVII <C>ontencio est cum diversis diversa tribuuntur, ut : *Ego quidem sum magnus, tu vero parvus. Ego iunior existo, tu autem extas senior.*

LVIII 1. <S>imilitudo est cum ad res aliquas vel exornandas vel explicandas aut probandas aliis a rebus nonnulla sumitur similitudo. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Sicut luna a sole lumen accipit, ita insipiens a sapiente illustrationem percipit intellectus.* 3. Qui universas mundi facturas considerat, illi ad rem quamquam ydonea nimirum similitudo conveniet, si modo in eius consideratione se ipse exerceat diligenter.

4. Hic / autem color ad ycon reducitur.

p. 32

LIX 1. <E>xemplum est cum alicuius hominis dictum aut factum narratur, ut : *Esto humilis. Sanctus Petrus equidem dixit : "Humiliamini sub potenti manu Dei". Et Ihesus Xristus in omnibus se humiliter semper gessit.* 2. Et tociens istud exemplum committitur, quociens ad alicuius propositi confirmationem autoritas aliqua colligatur.

LX 1. Ymago est cum res unius speciei rei alterius speciei in aliquo conformis asseveratur. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Iste currit velut equus, mugit velut bos, sibilat tamquam serpens.* Item : *Iste est intellectu angelicus, puritate divinus, corporali robore taurinus, velocitate volucrinus.*

LXI 1. Affictio est cum corporalis forma quibusdam accidentibus designatur. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Hoc fecit Vvilhelmus. Si eum non probe cognoscas, ex suis eum accidentibus et corporis habitudine tibi manifestabo.*

LVI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 58.

LVII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 58.

LVIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 59.

4 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2563 sq.

LIX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 62.

LX. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 62.

LXI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 63.

3. *Ille est Paulus, qui albo tectus amictu argenteo cingulo circumcingitur, et quinquagenarium smaragdorum dextera gestat in manu. Crispos habet ipse capillos, et ex inflicto sibi vulnere magna adhuc in mento remansit*
 p. 33 *cicatrix. Oculos tenet ipse sublimis, et dudum coram circumfusa plebis multitudine per vasalem circulum levis ipse transiliit.* 4. *Hoc colore frequenter utuntur dicentes: "Hoc ille fecit, qui scabiosi est capitis, et cuius genua et tibie per caligas eminent caligatas."* 5. *Hoc ergo colore substantia accidentibus alicui innotescit.*

LXII <S>ubiectio est cum breviter ostendimus que bona vel mala ex aliquo facto vel eius omissione sequuntur, ut : *Si bene studueris, sciencias nancisceris, laudes tibi multe dabuntur, parentes letificabis, honorabis magistros, exemplum bonum sociis largieris. Si vero male studueris, contraria tibi mala contingent.*

LXIII 1. *Notacio est cum aliqua natura propriis effectibus declaratur. Sic aliquis superbus esse ostenditur, quia superbie opera perpetravit.* 2. *Exemplum, ut : Abiectus quidam homo magnus videri gestiebat. Externam venit in urbem; pro amphora vini complures illic formosos iuvenes conduxit ut eum sequerentur euntem, sibi que loquenti per unius diei spacium nudatis capitibus poplices incurvarent. Et factum est ita.* 3. *A cunctis ipse magnus estimatur, et multorum esse dominus famulorum primo-*
 p. 34 *ribus innotescit. Ab illis invi/tatur ad prandium. Cum vinum esset solvendum, dixit : "Bursifer meus nunc abest, qui multum valentes campsum abivit pecunias. Et quamvis adesset, solius tamen solucione vini vobis non deceret satisfieri. Cras ego vos omnes rursus ad prandia invito, que pro vobis magnificenter et opipare instruentur".* 4. *Alii se venturos esse dixerunt. Postridie vir prefatus hospitibus remandat quod eius in terris, quibus dominatur, magna sit orta seditio eumque repente gratia sopiende discordationis descendere oportere. Sed cum rediret gratus, ymno magnificus pro rogatis hospitibus et convivis dapes iubet lautissimas preparari.*

LXIV 1. <S>ermocinatio est cum persone de quibus dicitur, introducuntur loquentes velut cuiusque congruit congruitati, idest doctus ut doctus loquitur, dominus ut dominus, iratus ut iratus. 2. Exemplum, ut : *Acclamans aliquis pastori dicit aperte : "Cum tu nos doceas plurima, pauca facis. Quod tua lingua docet, manus hoc operetur!" At ille : "Non pensare manum, sed mea verba velis".* 3. Aliud exemplum : *Petrus ad me venit, dicens : "Domine noster, olim vestra in ede sum aliquantis per versatus, itaque decere putavi ut te alloquerer, tibi vale-*

LXIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 63.

LXIV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 65.

3 Vergilius, *Aeneis* IV. 6 : postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras.

dicerem, / quia cum postera dies Phebea lustraverit lampade terras, ego p. 35
cenobium intrabo". 4. Cui respondi inquit: "Apprime gratum mihi
est quod videre te merui, presertim cum divino afflatus spiritu inter bonos
probam ipse vitam decreveris actitare". Tum ille: "Ora pro me, inquit,
o domine, et vale!" Respondi: "Votum secundet, qui potest, tuum Deus et
tu vale quam optime".

LXV 1. <C>onformatio est cum humana actio rei irrationabili
tribuitur, ut cum paries dicitur ridere vel loqui vel intelligere loquentem
vel audire, ut: *Si ista paupirus loqui posset, nonne taliter loqueretur:*
"Magnam abs te, o scriptor, patior iniuriam! Tu calami acumine crebro
meam teris superficiem, et candidum prius vultum tetro maculas atramento."

LXVI 1. <S>ignificatio est cum pauciora dicimus et plura signamus.
Et fit multipliciter. 2. Per ambiguum, ut: *Isti nichil est preclusum.*
Intelligitur enim "vel propter fidem vel furacitatem". 3. Per exsuperationem,
ut: *Iste est velocior vento.* 4. Per consequentiam, ut: *Iste*
est inspector nationum, idest "rector scholarium". 5. Per similitudinem,
ut: *Noli prodere. Iudas periit, idest, "sicut ipse dampnatus est, ita tu*
quoque, si proderes aliquem, dampnareris. /

LXVII 1. revitas est cum multa facta verbis pauculis efferuntur, p. 36
ut solum dicatur quod factum est, non autem quemadmodum gestum est
referatur. 2. Exemplum, ut: *Xristus natus est, adoratus, baptizatus,*
temptatus; collegit discipulos, docuit, sanavit, passus est, mortuus est,
resurrexit, apparuit discipulis, ascendit. 3. Hic color in gramatica
"oliopemenon" appellatur.

LXVIII 1. <D>emonstratio est cum res, uti gesta est, narratur, ut
persone, animi, personarum verba, gestus, motus, cause, loca, tempora,
occasiones, spacia, modi, facultas absolute patefiant. 2. Et per hunc
colorem evangeliste passionem Xristi egregie demonstrarunt; et in
demonstratione vite cuiusque sancti vel alterius apud omnes historio-
graphos celeberrime practicatur.

—
Explicit tractatus egregii viri domini et magistri Anthonii Haneron
de coloribus verborum et sententiarum cum figuris gramaticalibus.

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Finitum per manus Vvilhelmi Hees, anno LXXV

LXV. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 66.

LXVI. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 67.

LXVII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 68.

3 Cfr Alexander, *Doctrinale*, 2623.

LXVIII. 1 ad Her. IV (V), 68.

II

QUEDAM PARVA PRECEPTA ORATORIBUS MULTUM UTILIA

1. *Traditio*

Parva haec praecepta uno teste servata sunt, nempe codice manuscripto 23 bibliothecae facultatis Theologiae Universitatis Flandro-Lovaniensis (*Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*).

Est codex miscellaneus priore saeculi XVI, ut videtur, parte scriptus. Paucis annis ante Lovanium translatus est e Seminario Theologico Maiore Mechliniensi, ubi prius servabatur. Olim autem pertinebat ad prioriam Augustinianam in Busco Domini Isaac (*Bois-Seigneur-Isaac*), quae sita est in parte Brabantiae Gallica, Bruxellas inter et Nivellas. Haec prioria medio fere saeculo XV^o aedificata est, abolita autem tempore magnae seditionis Franco-gallicae. Pertinentiam antiquam revelat nota in imo folio 3^r scripta: *Ex Busco dñi Isaac*. Primigeniam vero originem codex duxisse videtur e Paedagogio quodam Lovaniensi, fortasse e *Lilio* (*De Lelie*), quod unum erat e quatuor paedagogiis Facultatis Artium.

Parva Praecepta, ut subscriptio docet, "in Lilio per magistrum Ambrosium pronunciata" sunt. Quandoquidem Ambrosii nomen inter suppositos universitatis saeculo XV^o perquam rarum erat, satis probabilis videtur opinio Caroli De Clercq, qui putat magistrum illum esse Ambrosium de Enghelen, qui ab anno 1428 Lovanii legebat, et annis 1433-34, 1437-38, 1438-39 regentiam obtinebat in Facultate Artium¹.

Praecepta non ab ipso Ambrosio sed a studioso quodam adolescente descripta esse videntur; nam verba non uno in loco corrupta sunt. Codex compactus est e foliis chartaceis diversissimae originis. Notae aquariae diversae octo vel novem reperiuntur: pleraeque vero sic abscissae sunt ut vix cognosci queant. At certo adsunt sol (Briquet 13938, annorum circiter 1415/60) et bos unoculus, praeterea frusta coronae, lilii etc. Folium 71 (in codice falso 69 signatum), quod praecepta parva continet, habet bovem unoculum typo Briquet 15206 (t. IV, p. 761) simillimum. Haec charta annis 1436-40 in Zeelandia, iisdem annis et postea in Francogallia et Sicilia reperitur. Alii boves unoculi G. Picard. *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen* (Stutgardiae 1966) I, p. 31 et p. 54; II, p. 284 annis 1433-1450 adtribuit. Scriptura porro est Burgundica bastarda, quam ineunti saeculo XV^o potissimum adscribas², id est ei tempori cum Anthonius Haneron Lovanii etiam doceret aut urbem vixdum relinquisset ut in aulam Burgundicam se transferret.

¹ Vide E. Reusens, *Actes ou Procès-verbaux des séances tenues par le Conseil de l'Université de Louvain*, I (Bruxellis 1903), p. 104; Id., *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, I (ib., 1903), p. 3; Id., *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797)*, t. II, 1 (Lovanii, 1881-85), pp. 209-210. — *Legens* erat professor minor, *regens* autem ordinarius. Regentia singulis annis rursus peti debebat.

² Gratias ago professori J. Buntinx, artis palaeographicae peritissimo, qui hac in re mihi a consilio fuit.

2. *Adnotatio Critica*

Textus in codice Lovaniensi legitur ff. 70^r-72^r (quae manu recentiore falso 68-70 signata sunt!). Caret titulo, qui tamen e subscriptione restitui potest.

Textus divisus est in paragraphos, signo *Pr* distinctas, quas numeris Romanis notavi. Sententiarum membra saepius lineola obliqua separantur.

Verba non uno in loco corrupta sunt. Ubi fieri potuit, sensum sanavi : qua in re maritus et Gilbertus Tournoy mihi auxilio fuerunt. Ubi desperavimus, cruces monent. Interdum manus vetus (scribae ipsius praeceptorum?) additamenta inter lineas, semel etiam in margine addidit. Quae sunt aut emendationes aut explicationes. In apparatu critico, quem textui subieci, ope *L* litterae verba codicis primigenia indicavi, *L*¹ autem additamenta.

3. *De articulo Li*

Anthוניus in praecepto XX articulo *li* usus est, qui est latinitatis scholasticae proprius. Item usus est, et quidem saepius, in *Diasynthetica*. Vide e.g. II, 12. 2-3. De articulo vide *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, fasc. L (Hauniae 1957), col. 112, et quae disseruerunt viri docti A. L. Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte der Frühscholastik*, I 1 (Ratisbonae 1952), 20-29; M. Hubert, "Notes de Latin médiéval", *Revue des Études Latines*, 30 (1952), 307-317, et L. Messedaglia, "Lyhomo e ly", in *Varietà e Curiosità Folenghiane IV*, Atti del Istituto Veneto, 113 (1954-1955), pp. 9-10.

Vide porro Ph. Wolff, "Alexandre Neckham et l'article", in *Mélanges E.-R. Labande* (Pictaviae 1974), 763-66, qui locum adfert (p. 765-766) ex opere Alexandri Neckham, quod inscribitur *Corrogationes Promethei* (ca. 1175-1180), ubi *li* nondum notum esse videtur, sed e contrario dicitur : "Latina lingua caret articulo; greca vero et hebraea, anglica et gallica lingua habent articulum".

* * *

I Oratio sepius in verbum quam in aliam partem finiatur, ut : *Sola f. 70^r virtus est que beatos homines facit.*

II Sepius in verbum finitum quam in infinitum finiatur, ut : *Qua de re certari oportet.*

III Habeat dictionem universalem in fine negativam vel affirmativam, vel aliquod insigne adiectum, ut "dulcissime, accuratissime", et que hiis paria sunt, velud in exemplis : *Quem magis diligam, habeo neminem; que vir bonus facit, laudant omnes; que ad me scribis, sunt egregia; que michi mandasti, feci omnia accuratissime.*

IV Oratio frequenter obliqua sit, ut : *Neminem posse ad eloquentiam accedere* (rursus inquit), *nisi multarum rerum scientia prius instructus sit.* Vide quomodo hec oratio a posterioribus in recta constructione incipit.

V 1. Ab apposito incipiat esse sepius oratio, etiam ab adiectivo,

IV Inquit, *L. d litteram corrigendam cruce superscripta notavit L¹.*

quam substantivo. 2. Interponatur preterea inter adiectivum et substantivum aliquid, non tamen unum ab altero tantum distet quod oratio obscura videatur.

VI Hoc relativum "qui, que, quod" non construitur immediate cum suo antecedente, sed interponatur verbum, ut : *Platonem omnes imprimis laudant, qui rerum divinarum cognitionem ante alios aperuit.*

VII Relativum antecedenti preponatur, ut : *Quid Scipiones, quid f salvos† ceterosque, nisi in qua studuerunt, virtus reddidit immortales?*

VIII Hoc relativum "is, ea, id" immediate post suum antecedens f. 70^o collocetur, ut : *Publius Affricanus, / is qui Cartaginem leges romanas coegit accipere, omnes summos laude antecessit.*

IX 1. Oratione perfecta aliquid gravius addat, ut : *Vir fortis omnia pro republica pericula adibit, et quidem impigre.* 2. Commoventur enim auditorum animi magis quam si dixissem : *Vir fortis omnia pro republica impigre adibit pericula.*

X 1. Interdum hec coniunctiones "cum, si" et similes propositiones postponantur dictionibus, quibus communiter preponi consueverunt, ut : *Omnes cum honesta facimus, nichil est quod vereamur; Omnibus in rebus honestas placet; Tuam propter causam omnes caremus patria; Vestris ab agris omne pecus abactum est.* 2. Idem intelligas de adverbii ordinis, qualia sunt "dehinc, deinde, deinceps", et sic de aliis, ut : *Tua dehinc erit cura ne quid mea commoda remoreris.*

XI Interdum, incepta oratione, priusquam ad verbum principale deveniatur, interponatur oratio imperfecta vim habens parentesis, que potest incipere a relativo quod, ut est apud Ciceronem, 2^o *Officiorum* : *"Atque ille Grecus, quod fuit sapientis et prestantis viri, omnibus consulendum putavit".*

XII Quandoque pronomen "id" huic relativo "quod" anteponatur, ut : *Omnes qui ambitioni et glorie student, id quod ignorat nemo, opinantur, quoniam ad aliquam partem reducatur, † sui laude†.*

VII — Salvos, *L. distincte habet, sed corruptum esse e nomine herois Romani videtur. Fortasse legendum 'Paulos' : cf. Cic., Off. II.76, ubi de Scipione et Paulo agitur. Alium eiusdem Officiorum libri locum laudat noster infra, XI.*

— *supra qua scriptum est 2^o li vij; supra virtus : animus.*

VIII regit accipere, *L.*

IX 1. id est propter, *L¹ infra omnia; 'ut' deletum, dein 'et' scriptum, L.*

X Honestis placet, *L.*; agris abactum, *L.* Omne pecus, id est depositum (?), id est pecus, *L¹ supra lineam.*

XI Officiorum, *L. Cf. Cic., Off. II 83 : "At ille Graecus, id quod etc."*

XIII Interdum et coniunctio copulativa interponatur propriis nominibus et appellativis dignitatem significantibus, ut : *et Catho et pretor*; quod in vituperatione etiam attendi potest.

XIV Etiam pro exprimenda affectus causa duplices hoc adverbium "etiam", ut : *Etiam atque etiam hortor.* /

XV Verbo coniunctivo interdum pro indicativo utimur, ut : *Illud a te f. 71^r velim.*

XVI Futuro verbi optativi pro presenti indicativi sepe utamur, ut : *oblivioni si te datum existimes, huic malo velim occurras.*

XVII Interdum supersedeamus de hiis coniunctionibus, scilicet "ut, et, quod", ut in hoc exemplo : *Moneo que te digna sunt, facias; si operam medicantis expectas, oportet vulnus detegas tuum; unum nobis f. potest f. utile, non est humilitas.*

XVIII Sine coniunctionis suffragio duo verba clausulam terminent, ut : *Celestis pietas dum peccatorem corrigit, consolatur; mors undique ut reperiat quem devoret, circumcurrit.*

XIX Interdum duo infinitivi absque medio orationem claudant, ut : *Amicis sepe scribes. Aiunt enim amicorum memoriam oblectare solere; litterarum f. nostrarum f. susceptione amiciciam dissolvi oportere.*

XX Li "ego" interdum postponatur suo apposito, ut : *Volo ego ita sit.*

XXI 1. Pro "frustra" dicas "nichil est", ut : *Sine Deo nichil est quod sidera possunt.* 2. Item pro "quare non", dic "quominus", ut : *Non video quominus bellaciter terram eius ineamus.* 3. Item si coniunctionibus habundabis, licitum est, ut : *Vereor maria nostrumque triviasque.* 4. Item pro "sufficiens" "satis" et ita interdum adverbium loco nominis, sicut e contra nomen loco adverbii, ut : *facile intelligam, pro faciliter.* 5. Item "quo fit" pro "propter quod fit"; et hoc michi pulcrum videtur.

XIII etiam, L¹ supra lineam.

XIV pro, L¹ supra lineam; scilicet tu, L¹ supra lineam (refertur ad verbum duplices).

XVI mexistimes, L.

XVII Id est absolventis pro ..., L¹ supra medicantis; Id est, L¹ supra vulnus; Inter 'nobis' et 'potest' deletum est 'quod est'. At sensu caret exemplum.

XIX Locus desperatus! solere honores, L. Supra lineam : litterarum, addito signo intercalationis post "solere"; item ho litterae expunctae sunt.

XXI. 1 Id est frustra, L¹ supra alterum 'nichil est'; poscas, L; possunt, L¹.

3 Nostrum : *credo intelligendum esse 'magistrum theologiae'. 'Noster' titulus erat horum magistrorum.*

5 Scilicet Anthonio, L¹ supra 'michi'.

- f. 71^v XXII In habentibus vocem passivam / verbis altera secunda persona singulari, que scilicet in e finitur, potissimum utaris, ut : *in tali fulgenti universitate multis doctrinis replebere, duce Deo.*

XXIII Hec verba terciarum personarum “aiunt, ferunt, memorant et perhibent” absque suppositis collocentur.

XXIV Vocativo eciam utamur, sed non in capite orationis, ut : *Vestra in me benivolencia vobis, vir eximie, immensas grates refero.*

XXV Verba ad rerum, de quibus loquimur, locorum, temporum seu personarum dignitatem sint accomodata, ne plus minusve quam dignitas rei postulabit signare videantur; quia qui agricolam illustrem aut regem parcum laudandi causa appellat, non mediocre vicium incurrit, cum illic adiectivo ampliori, hic angustiori quam rei natura poscat, utatur.

XXVI Opus hac una in parte erit rerum natura consulere ut noscatur quis ornatus rebus sit accomodandus.

XXVII In re leta verbis tristibus, aut in tristi letis minime utamur; viciosum est enim cum <in> re funer<e>a similitudinibus aut exemplis, quibus in voluptatibus atque deliciis utimur, nostros affectus amplificamus; nam comparatione acerbior dolor insurgit.

- XXVIII 1. In re lugubri non utamur tam limata atque expedita compositione; non enim natura patitur ut, cum gravi aliquo merore premitur, verborum compositioni vacari possit animus. 2. Probaturque magis illud dicendi genus, quod abruptum est ac simile illis animorum fluctibus, quam expoliturum nimis atque elaboratum. / 3. Cavendum itaque ne in re tristi nimium lasciviat, aut in re leta multum sit abhorrida; in rebus enim secundis ille apparatus verborum adducendus est.
- f. 72^r

XXIX Ubi satis, de quibus satis diximus, fecerimus et in egregium aliquem sensum terminabitur oratio, non ulterius provehamur, ne grata illa, que bene dicendo nacti sumus, amplificatione nimis gravi amittantur. 2. Nam oratio illustris si preter modum frequentata sit, fastidio afficit. In quod vicium plerique incidunt ins<ci>tia quidem, † pisaus † aut negligencia. Quam rerum dicendarum copia illi, teneram illam delicatamque modulandi voluptatem dum querunt, aufugiunt.

XXII potissime, L¹ *supra* potissimum. *Addit et in margine* : potissimum adverbium superlativi gradus.

XXVI naturis, L; natura, L¹.

XXVII cum re funera, L. *Num legendum* ‘in funere’?

XXVIII. 2 que expoliturum, L.

XXIX. 1 nam, L; ne, L¹.

2 *Locus desperatus* : *clarissime legitur* ‘pisaus’. *Fortasse sic emendes* : pigritia.

XXX Sepe oratio augeat et non decrescat, et ne ampliori significatione verborum verbum nimis amplum subiciatur, ut cum sacrilegum quemquam appellaveris, consequenter eum furem dicas; augeri quidem sic videtur, ut : *nobilis et egregius; magnificus et illustris; crudelis atque malus; fur et sacrilegus*.

XXXI 1. Verba non supervacua sint, ut vestis tunica, aut nil agenda; quod viciū qui evitare volet, semper genus speciei anteponat. 2. Verba quoque rebus, de quibus loquitur, accomodet, ut supra dicebatur. 3. Et hec sex posteriora precepta magis substantialia videntur.

Expliciunt quedam parva precepta oratoribus multum utilia, edita a venerabili viro, artium magistro, magistro Anthonio de Hanneron, et in Lilio per magistrum Ambrosium pronunciata.

XXX Quemque, L : *cf. errorem similem in XXVIII* 2. Nobilius L.

XXXI. 1 ut vestis tunica, L¹ *infra lineam*.

at nil, L.

III

ARS DICTANDI

1. *Traditio.*

Ars eodem codice Lovaniensi servata est, quo et *Parva Praecepta* (vide supra, p. 54). Legitur foliis 64^r-69^r (falso 62-67 signatis), manu ut videtur eadem exarata atque illa, quae cetera Haneronis opuscula descripsit. Composita esse videtur ineunte anno 1434, paucis diebus antequam Haneron rectoratum auspicatus est (cf. XII. 5). Ceterum haec *Ars* ab Hanerone non edita esse videtur, sed a studioso quodam adulescente, dum legitur, excepta. Vide e.g. soloecismos (V. 4), varia anacolutha, verba omissa (VII. 3; XII. 5), quaestiones ex tempore et consilia legentis (IX. 7; XVIII) etc.

Sub *Arte* nomen legitur *Iheronimus Marcelle de Onaso* (?), qui fortasse erat studiosus Haneronis auditor. At nihil de eo novimus, nisi quod Hieronymi nomen etiam alibi in codice reperitur (f. 86^v). Notes tamen oportet quod nominis huius scriptura satis differt a scriptura *Artis*, simillima autem est eius, quae sub *Arte* epistolae obiurgatoriae specimen addidit, quae ceteroquin ad *Artem* ipsam nihil pertinet.

2. *Adnotatio critica*

Textus in codice titulo caret, qui tamen e subscriptione restitui potest. Divisus est in paragraphos nonnumquam titulis praeditas. Qui tituli litteris maiusculis scripti sunt.

Additamenta quaedam leguntur inter lineas. Sunt emendationes aut explicationes aut verba sententiae addenda. In apparatu critico ope L litterae textus verba, L¹ additamenta distinxi.

3. *Auctores*

In *Arte* laudantur auctores tres, nempe :

V. 1 *Summa de tota litterarum varietate*. Haud facile est dictu, qua de Summa agitur. At in codice sub tractatu anonymo de Coloribus Sententiarum secundum Galfridum de Vino Salvo (ff. 78^r-86^v) haec leguntur : "Expliciunt Colores Sententiarum, que sunt XIX numero, ut habet :

Bis denis redolet hoc carmen floribus; unum

Excipe. Non unum possidet ille locum.

Hos via dictandi recipit flores. Dabit illam

Bernardi maior summa minorque tibi."

Bernardus hic magister esse videtur, quem in *Arte* dictandi secutus est Petrus Blesensis (saec. XII). Vide G. Gröber, *Uebersicht über die Lateinische Literatur von der Mitte des VI. Jahrh. bis zur Mitte des XIV.* (Argentorati, 1902), p. 252.

V. 6 *Ciceronem imitor*. Cf. *Ad Herennium* I, 2 : "Demonstrativum (genus causarum) est, quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem vel vituperationem".

XIII. 4 *Terentius*. Cf. *Adelphos* 803-804 : "... Nam vetus verbum hoc quidemst / Communia esse amicorum inter se omnia."

I 1. Eum qui bene ac artificiose litteras latine edere satagit, oportet f. 64^r partes cognoscere e quibus epistula componi debet. 2. Potest autem earum hec statui differentia, quod illarum alie sunt substantiales ac ex substantia ipsius littere ducte; alie accidentales appellantur, veluti extrinsecus ipsi littere adiuncte. 3. At de hiis primum paululum nobis loquendum. Possunt itaque hec tribus speciebus absolvi, scilicet salutatione, valedictione et data.

II De partibus accidentalibus.

1. Salutatio in prima sede collocatur, salutem promens quam verbis primis dicit scriptor ei ad quem scribit. 2. Habet autem illa differentiam secundum diversas hominum habitudines. Fit quippe ad maiores cum maiori reverencia, ad minores cum benignitate, ad pares et amicos cum familiaritate. 3. In veteribus tamen oratorum epistolis tam scriptoris quam eius ad quem scribebatur nomina ita comprehendebantur : *Cicero suo Cesari salutem plurimam dicit*. Ideoque in eiusmodi epistolis subscriptione supersedebatur, que hodie necessaria est. 4. In litteris autem presentibus hodiernisque non nisi nomen eius, ad quem littera dirigitur, expromit salutatio, idque vocativo casu. Continuo autem locum vendicat ipsius salutis expressio, que nonnumquam ex humilitatis significatione fit per commendationem et oblationem obsequii, ut hic : *Reverende magister, premissa commendatione cum parata ac devota obediencia*, ubi predictae commendatio et oblatio absolute posite/sunt. f. 64^v 5. Possunt autem item ille verbo vel participio ac modis aliis pluribus significari, ut hic : *Commendo me vobis, omnia parate obediencie obsequia humiliter offerens*. 6. Cum autem superior ad inferiorem scribit, sicut sunt communiter littere et principum ad subditos mandata, scribentis nomen in ipsa salutatione collocatur, ut hic : *Philippus, Burgundie dux, universis presentes lecturis salutem*. 7. Potest item salutationem nonnumquam supersederi ac statim a littere substantia incipi, videlicet pro bonitate ac amicitie ac familiaritatis scriptoris ad lectorem singularitate, in hunc modum : *Frater mi, redde meum Terentium michi, in quo michi opus esse scito*. Quo modo oratores sepe usos cerno.

I *In margine superiore legitur* : Cito fieri potest ut vix quomodo sciat et id quod sencit polite eloqui non possit; sed mandare quicquam cogitationis .. litteris, qui eas nec disponere nec illustrare possit nec delectatione aliqua allicere lectorem, hominis vituperantur abutentis et ocio et litteris. Itaque suos libros ipsi legant cum suis nec quisquam attingat preter eos, qui eandem scribendi licentiam sibi permitti volunt. L¹.

II. 5 *supra* ille : scilicet commendatio et oblatio, L¹.

7 *supra* modo : sc. scribendi, L¹.

III De Valedictione.

1. Priscus usus pro tota valedictione non nisi hoc verbum “vale”, aut aliud tale, amicum scriptoris desiderium significans, capiebat, ut hic : *Vive prospere. Esto felix. Cupio tibi bene esse. Salvum esse te cupio.*
2. Hodie autem expressior fit de Deo mencio, illum rogando lectoris salutem aut aliud gratum sibi postulando, ut hic : *Altissimus te custodiat.*
3. Est itaque cautela utilis in fine littere ante valedictionem fieri de Deo mencionem pro integriori ipsius littere continuitate, ut : *hoc novit Altissimus, qui tibi optata placitaque omnia perficiat.* /

f. 65^r IV. Littere datta tempus et locum, quibus descripta est, brevi eloquio implicat, ut hic : *scriptum Lovanii, secunda Junii. Datum Avinione, prima Julii.* 2. Nonnumquam vero propter brevitatem non ponuntur neque “scriptum” neque “datum”, sed sic tantum : *Ex Lovanio, raptim Decembris tertia.* 3. Atque id exemplo, quo modo de hiis tribus accidentalibus partibus dicendum videbatur, sufficiat.

V De partibus substantialibus.

1. Nunc autem audite de latinarum epistolarum substantialibus partibus, quoque numero illas statuam. Pono eas duas. 2. Altera voluntatem intentionemque scriptoris, qua ad litteram scribendam adductus est, significat eamque iuste “propositum” dicere possim, quippe que exprimat quid scriptor per litteram assequi cupiat. 3. Alia eius propositi atque intentionis rationes unamve pluresve continet, ideoque “rationem” appellaverim. 4. Sunt igitur huiusmodi partes due, propositum et ratio. Neque parvum hunc brevemque numerum aspreveritis (*sic!*); bene enim adnadvertentes, vim omnem omnium litterarum, quam magne lateque sint, dictis duabus, proposito et ratione, comprehendi comperietis.

5. Et quoniam hec partes due, propositum et ratio, tam proprie sunt et tam ex littere substantia ac veluti ex spiritu ducte, ut litterarum diversarum eas esse prorsus diversas necesse sit, sicut est in Summa videndum f. 65^v de tota litterarum varietate / ac certe ponende sunt species, sub quibus omnes concludi possunt; possumus itaque eas earumque numerum sic venari.

III. 1 *supra* priscus : sc. preteritus vel vetus, L¹; *supra* amicum : sc. amicabile, L¹.

IV. 1 Avione, L. *Inter i et o supra lineam ni additum.*

2 dattum, L.

V. 2 *supra* qua : sc. intentione, L¹.

5 *supra* spiritu : sc. scribentis, L¹; *supra* prorsus : sc. omnino, L¹.

VI De Speciebus epistolarum.

1. Litterarum epistolarum tres sunt species; prima cum scriptor non nichil ab eo ad quem scribit fieri cupit, ad quod ipsius lectoris animum littera ipsa pellere conatur, sive iubendo sive rogando, consulendo, exortandove aliisve modis. 2. Itaque litterarum species res futuras respicit, quae lectoris subsunt potestati, ita ut ad illas perficiendas sola restet voluntas. 3. Proprie autem in rethorica omnes eius speciei epistole deliberative dici possunt.

4. De secunda specie.

Secundam epistolarum speciem pono: scriptoris propositum est non quod littere suae gratia aliquid fiat, sed tantum lectori significare quidpiam sibi incognitum, ut nova dicere de suo statu, fortuna, incolumitate aliisve rebus quas audivit vel vidit, quarum noticiam putat lectori gratam aut utilem fore. Possum autem eius speciei epistolas verbo proprio narrativas dicere.

5. De tertia specie epistolarum.

Littere speciei tertiae sunt, dum quempiam cuiuspiamve dictum aut factum aut quodvis aliud, ut virtutem aut scientiam, laudamus commendamusve, aut contra criminamur ac vituperamus; quas demonstrativas dixerimus. 6. Ciceronem imitor, qui rethoricarum causarum genus sub quo eiusmodi epistole omnes comprehenduntur, demonstrativum appel/lat, duabus prorsus partibus, laudatione et vituperatione, abso- f. 66r lutum.

VII De tribus speciebus epistolarum.

1. Memineritis igitur esse tres epistolarum species; quamcumque enim finxeritis, illa deliberativa est narrativave aut demonstrativa. Sumitur autem earum distinctio ex scriptoris intentione, quae veluti ceterarum omnium partium princeps formam speciemque littere tribuit. 2. Ne tamen ignoraveritis epistolam nonnumquam simplicem esse, nonnumquam compositam et veluti mixtam; quam diversitatem, ut statim dicam, intelligite. 3. Simplicis littere et compositae differentia sic deprehenditur: simplicis enim sub altera dictarum specierum unica

VI. 1 *supra* nonnichil: sc. aliquid, L¹; cognatur, L, et *supra id verbum*: sc. nittur, L¹.

2 *supra* voluntas: sc. illius, cui littera mittitur, L¹.

VII. 2 *supra secundum* nonnumquam: sc. aliquando, L¹.

3 *supra* specierum: sc. de notatione, narratione vel h. one, L¹; *supra* ast: pro sed, L¹; *supra* complexa: supra epistolam sunt composita, L¹; *supra* una: sc. pariter, L¹.

est intencio; ast complexa intentiones una plures commiscet, uti si primum littera novellas memoret, postremo autem sibi quidpiam <...> darive postulet. Ita enim et narrative vim habet et deliberative. 4. Scripta autem primum simplicium arte, facilis erit complexarum edicio et cognitio.

VIII De epistola deliberativa.

1. Deliberative epistole intencio, ut in ceteris omnibus, exprimi debet verbis primis, propriis et veris, puris, non translatis, non novellis, non dissuetis, sine sermonis lascivia, que lectoris animum remoretur quominus ad petitionis substantiam animadvertat, quod scriptori esset dampno gravi ac detrimento. 2. Porro littere deliberative intentio f. 66^v nonnumquam simpliciter verbo imperativo exprimatur /, ut hic : *redde librum, quem nuper tibi misi*. Alias vero cum nota iubendi, rogandi hortandive, ut hic : *rogo, moneo, iubeo ut librum michi reddas*. 3. Aliquando autem ad alicuius modestie verecundie excusationem significet, uti verecundi plane petere non audemus, sed honesta quadam utimur circuitione, grata lectori, quippe quem vereri videmur, ut hic : *quid velim, satis ipse intelligis; non ausim plenius dicere; tuam in me benivolentiam nunc ipse requiro*, et hiisce aliis modis.

IX 1. Rationes, quibus ad littere deliberative intentionem perveniri potest, sic distinguuntur, quia omnium actuum humanorum principia sunt duo : necessitas ac sufficiencia, posse et velle. 2. Eo enim rem quampiam agere omittimus, aut quia nolumus aut non possumus. Ast cum una et volumus et possumus, illico statim sequitur operis executio, cui neque sola voluntas neque sola potencia suffecissent. 3. Rationes igitur, quibus quempiam ad quam rem peragendam inducere conamur, duplici via venari possumus. Illarum enim praeter velle alie posse respiciunt; que duo membra rebus sequentibus apertius intelliguntur. 4. Rationes consumantes posse ex hiis rebus trahuntur, quibus agens supra paciens dominium habet : puta si habeat ingenium industriamque, robur corporis, adiutorium ministrorum, diviciarumve,

VIII. 1 remiretur, L. *Emendavi sensus causa. Supra et iuxta in margine legitur* : id est laudet. / An significet locutio cupio, stupeo quoque la [...] hoc verbum miror tot notat equivoc [...], L¹.

3 *supra* verecundi : id est stupefacti, L¹; *supra* quippe quem : sc. lectorem, L¹.

IX. 2 *supra* eo : id est ideo, L¹; *supra* ast : pro sed, L¹; *supra* una : id est pariter, L¹.

3 *supra* quam : id est aliquam L¹; *supra* conamur : id est nitimur, L¹; *supra* venari : id est querere, L¹; *supra* rebus sequentibus : per res sequentes, L¹.

4 *supra* agens : id est lector littere, L¹; *supra* paciens : id est scribentem, L¹.

comoditatem, tempus et locum idoneos, materiam necessariam et huius modi omnia, que rei perficiende usui sunt. 5. Que bene animadvertenda ac memoranda sunt, quippe illis cuiusque spem, fiduciam, f. 67^r audaciam aut contraria, diffidentiam, desperationem, ignaviam facere possumus, aut ad rem quamcumque incipiendam aut obmittendam illum inducere. Habet itaque vim valde considerandam. 6. Epistolarum deliberatarum potentie allegatorie subnixarum potest esse hoc exemplum : *Frater mi, succurre michi pro decem florenorum summa, re tibi parva et pro ingenti diviciarum tuarum copia facili*. 7. In qua brevissima epistula duas principales partes, rationem et intentionem, ipsi capere potestis; quas michi ostendite, ut superiorum locorum memores videamini. 8. Rationes volendi suscitature sunt, que voluntati lucide proponunt bonum, ad quod suapte nature voluntas ipsa se admoveat. Hec autem e duobus communibus locis veluti fontibus emanant, personis et re intenta. 9. In re ipsa animadvertendum sit ne honesta aut inhonesta, pulchra turpissime, utilis inutilissime in personis quequam mutua extet obligatio, ex qua alter alteri bene cupere votisque suis parere debeat : Hec autem obligationes alteram habent varietatem, uti illico manifestabitur.

X De obligationibus.

1. Obligatio prima est omnium hominum ad nostrum creatorem; secunda cuiusque ad natalem terram principemve, qui hodie veluti quedam rei publice anima extimatur; tertia ad parentes, uti patrem et matrem, propinquos, ceterosque sanguine iunctos. 2. Quarta ad nostros / benefactores et amicos quibus pro susceptis beneficiis gratiam f. 67^v debemus. Quinta ad homines virtute ulla aut dignitate prestantes, quos prestancie sue gratia revereri debemus. 3. Sexta est generaliter ad cuiusque generis homines, ita ut nulli obesse debeamus, sed per leges reddere unicuique quod suum est. Sunt item alie quam plures.

XI. De modo obligandi personas.

1. Cum igitur quampiam rem ullam hortari cupimus, debemus rem ipsam ad alteram ipsarum obligationum referre atque adiungere, ita ut illi perficiende is ad quem agimus ex altero superiorum modorum

5. *supra* quippe : pro certo, L¹; *supra* illis cuiusque : id est per illa iam dicta, scilicet et robora et adiutoria, et sic de aliis, L¹; Inaniam L, *correx* L¹ : id est ignaviam, et *suprascriptis* : id est pudicie (*sic!*).

6. *supra* allegatorie : *supra* rationis, L¹; *supra* subnixarum : id est et , L¹.

XI. 1 *supra* ullam : id est aliquem cui scribimus, L¹.

obnoxius significetur, ut posita sic nostra intentione : *Frater mi, miserere paupertatis mee et calamitatis*. Potest adiungi per duas priores species hec ratio : *tu ita faciens, rem prestiteris placitam et gratam Deo ac nature, qui nos uti sanguine ita quoque animo atque benivolencia coniunctos esse volunt*. 2. Sunt item ex aliis modis, facilia exempla. Atque ut exemplorum copia ea res illustrior sit, eam ipsam intencionem superiorem ex specie quarta prosequatur : *Oro te, frater mi, ut te paupertatis mee miserescat, atque nunc in mea calamitate reminiscare tempora priora. Tam liberaliter miseris tuis casibus presidium tuli, omnibusque te difficilibus periculis, quibus circumventus eras, liberavi. Meministi te umquam nichil ex me frustra postulare. Hec autem ipse commemoro, non quod me*
 f. 68^r *facti peniteat, sed ut preces meas equi/ores putes, te cum rogo ut equa rependas*. 3. Atque hec precepta pauca pro prima specie sufficiant. Si vero praeterea alia necessaria erunt, poterunt ea scribi usu atque consuetudine.

4. Deprehendi nam in omni arte, tamen maxime in eloquencia : necessaria est exercitatio. Vertite igitur animum ad speciem secundam, quam nuper narrativam appellavi, pro qua hanc doctrinam do brevem ac facilem, sed utilem.

XII 1. Debes pro secunde speciei epistolis, rationem unam pluresve meditari, que te ad novellarum scriptionem permoverint, ut forte quatenus is idem alia nova rependat, aut quod soleat ille huiusmodi novitatibus oblectari, aut quod eiusmodi nova gratanter, ac sicut iocunda videbantur. 2. Dein descendere ad tuam intentionem debes, id est narrationem que ordinem congruum observare debet et terminis constare claris, non obscuris nec a communi usu loquendi abhorrentibus. 3. Debet etiam brevitatem observare, cavereque ne bis pluriesve idem repetat, ut is qui dicit : *Veni ad eum, et cum venissem, petivi argentum, et cum argentum petivissem*, etc. 4. Atque pro hac specie id sit exemplum : *Frater mi, ut bellissime, citissimeque Terencius scribit verbum : "hoc verbum est : communia esse amicorum inter se omnia", quo sit ut fortunas meas omnes pro tuis ducas. Illas igitur hac presenti littera tibi representabo, ut si quid in illis est boni, tu illarum mecum cum gaudio fruarere*. 5. *Scito ergo me post dies paucos honores summos adeptum <iri> pro rectoratus dignitate, ad quam communi tocius universitatis /*
 f. 68^v *assensu assumptus, non quidem procuratione mea sed vi quadam communis voluntatis eorum, quorum in nostra universitate et valet et potest auctoritas*. 6. *Hec itaque ad te scribo, ut intelligas in maximis meis honoribus superesse mihi tui memoriam*.

XIII. De tertia specie epistolarum.

1. Id autem sit tertiae speciei exemplum : *Carissime frater, ego pro eo quod de novella fortuna tua audio, magnam cepi voluptatem, primum tui gratia, cui inde ab ineunte iuventute cognitio michi et dilectio, ex animo semper bene cupivi.* 2. *Eciam pro communi omnium bonorum causa, qui tuo exemplo ad virtutem alacres fient, cum te per illam tam uberes adeptum fructus aspicient.* 4. *Gaudeo igitur ego atque idipsum gaudium michi dulce est, cum in te virtutem debitam dignaque mercede exultantem tueor.*

XIV 1. Porro illud omittendum non est, generalem esse epistolarum omnium differentiam, quod alie simplices sunt, videlicet quae una intentione constant, atque hec prorsus tribus superioribus speciebus comprehenduntur. 2. Alie sunt diversis intentionibus mixte, ut si eadem littera amico meo nova quidem referre velim, necnon rem ullam poscere; aut si illi referre velim plures ac varias novellas, aut plura varia rogare. 3. Harum autem compositarum doctrina ex superiorum simplicium forma deprehenditur, adiuncto cum hoc uno quod sequitur.

XV 1. Ergo cum modo dicto res vis varias epistolari brevitate complecti, si vehementer brevitati studeas, ea plura debent, sublatis e medio coniunctionibus, inconiuncte promi, hoc modo : 2. *Carissime frater, scito me esse incolumem; trans mitte michi id argentum quod / scis; con-* f. 69^r *serva diligenter libros, quos tibi reliqui; scribito frequenter ad me de te et rebus tuis; quae faciens, michi ingentem voluptatem prestabis.* 3. Ecce ut res varie brevi, sine intercedentibus coniunctionibus implicentur, quae nonnumquam apponi possunt, ut per illas una littere particula continuo magis alteri hereat. 4. Sunt autem eiusmodi continuative coniunctiones ut : “dein, deinde, porro, ceterum, item, insuper”, et similes.

XVI 1. Has vero partes, rationem et propositum, animadvertite esse epistolarum perfectarum et absolutarum; nam in ceteris imperfectis ratione supersederi potest, atque ita uti solo proposito. 2. Idem cum placet brevitatis, et properare studeas, ad hunc modum : *Carissime frater, scito me semper post meum recessum bene valuisse, huncque locum novellum adprime mihi placere, atque cetera omnia, preterquam quod cum illis carendum est tui, quod mihi esse molestissimum credere debes.*

XIII. 1 *supra* inde ab : id est ab incipiente, L¹.

2 *supra* eadem littera : per eandem litteram, L¹.

XVII 1. Demum pro dictarum particularum ordine animadvertendum quod in dispositione vera ac naturali mutatur : propositum precedit ratio, sicut naturali ratione effectum causa prior est. 2. Si vero hortari commodum videbitur, potest ille a proposito incipere, illique adiungere suam rationem, atque is ordo artificialis appellatur, eo quod magis arte quam necessaria ratione notatur. 3. Nonnumquam autem plures sunt eiusdem propositi rationes; tamen integerrima aptissimaque est rationum dispositio ut illarum medio propositum includatur ad hunc modum :

4. *Amice mi, perquam maxime cupio de tua incolumitate per litteras tuas cognoscere, primum pro communi amicitie nostre ratione, que mihi memoriam cogitationemque tui gratissimam facit, demum pro gravi periculo*
 f. 69^v *pestis / toto hoc anno misere in omnes sevientis; cuius cum te memini medio teneri, ingenti timore afficior; quo ut me liberes, te rogo ut litteras tuas venustissimas, tue prosperitatis nuncias, mihi transmittas. Tu ita vero officium amico prestabis, et vulnere quod ipse mihi iniecisti, medebere. Vale.* 5. Nunc vos mihi ostendite eius epistole propositum rationum plurium medio claudi.

XVIII 1. Atque hec precepta pauca satis esse vobis possunt bene animadvertentibus, atque illa meditatione frequenti pertractantibus. Alioquin vana ea et in vestra papiro mortua iacebunt, neque vobis ullum fructum afferent. 2. Sumite igitur, illorum mementote, et crebra excercitatione experiamini quam vim ea habeant. Erit autem ad ea probanda exercitatio ut, pro qualibet epistolarum specie et modo, duo exempla signave fingatis, quibus dictorum preceptorum doctrinam adiungatis. Ex quo recolligatis fructum opinione vestra plenior.

Explicit ars dictandi magistri Anthonii de Hanneron.

Jheronimus Marcelle de Onaso

XVII. 2 *supra* ille : dictator, L¹.

3 est dispositio, L. Rationum *inserendum suprascripsit* L¹.

IV

PARTES DICTAMINIS

1. *Traditio*

Legitur in solo codice Lovaniensi, f. 73^{r-v} (falso 71 signato).

2. *Adnotatio critica*

Textus caret titulo, quem restitui ex ultima sententia. Manus eadem est, quae *Artem* scripsit. Nihil inter lineas additum.

Ab initio singularis error irrepsit (*sex* pro *quinque*), qui lapsus linguae esse potest Haneronis, dum legit.

* * *

1. Epistola in sex (*sic!*) partes dividitur : in prohemium sive exordium, f. 73^r narrationem, petitionem, confirmationem et conclusionem.

2. Exordium est brevis sermo, reddens animum lectoris attentum ad dicenda, aut benivolum ad id quod petitur; sumptus ex alicuius doctoris aut scripture auctoritate, et magis proprie dicitur proverbium. Quod fit secundum personas, ad quas scribitur.

3. Narratio est expositio necessitatis sive indigencie, aut eorum que oportet preintelligi ad nostram petitionem. Ipsa autem narratio erit brevis et lucida.

4. Peticio est cum, expositis que oportet intelligi, exprimimus quid velimus nobis concedi aut dari ad id, quam ob rem litteram confecimus. Debet autem esse plana et maxime humilis ne, cum petimus, videamur ipsi precipere.

5. Confirmatio est cum nostre petitioni rationem annectimus, propter quam magis illi, ad quem scribimus, divertimur quam ad alios, scilicet propter bonitatem eius, misericordiam, considerationem, similitudinisque humane meditationem. Solet etiam confirmationis ratio poni dampnum periculumve, in quod subiciemur, si petitum non consequamur.

6. Conclusio est postquam ad petitionem persuasum est, pollicemur nos sic vel sic facturos, si id / exequamur quod petamus scilicet ipsum f. 73^v datorem communem benefactorem proclamaturos, ac coram Deo pro ipso rogaturos, et ad omnia eius servicia quantumcumque poterimus subituros. 7. Debet conclusio limpida et suavis esse, ne propter priora lector fessus sit, ita ut ipsi conclusioni intendere, si quodammodo minus perfecta esset, non vellet. Et etiam in ea vim rationis includi pulcrum ac perficiens est.

8. Et hec pauca satis sint pueris pro partibus dictaminis.

Antho. Hanneron

Godelieve TOURNOY-THOEN*

LE MANUSCRIT 1010 DE LA *BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUÑA*
ET L'HUMANISME ITALIEN
À LA COUR DE FRANCE VERS 1500**

Il y a encore de nombreuses miscellanées de l'époque humaniste enfouies sous la poussière de nos bibliothèques. Bien que les textes qu'elles contiennent ne peuvent pas toujours se vanter d'un égal mérite littéraire, ils constituent souvent de précieux documents pour la reconstruction de l'histoire culturelle de l'époque.

Qui étudie la littérature humaniste, rencontre parfois des allusions ou des réminiscences dont il est difficile de saisir le sens. Très souvent, cependant, elles remontent à des sources (épigrammes, épîtres fictives, compilations ou aperçus historiques) qui entraînent dans le bagage culturel de l'intellectuel de la Renaissance, mais qu'on a de nos jours complètement perdues de vue.

Ces miscellanées, qui offrent parfois un reflet véridique de l'érudition des contemporains, peuvent dès lors contribuer dans une mesure appréciable à élargir et à compléter la conception que nous nous en faisons. Par ailleurs, nombre de pièces recueillies dans ce genre de collections sont étroitement liées à l'actualité et, quelquefois, elles représentent une source de tout premier ordre pour la reconstruction de l'histoire et surtout de la petite histoire du milieu dont elles sont issues, ainsi que pour la connaissance de la sensibilité de leurs auteurs aux événements.

* Aangesteld navorsers NFWO.

** Nous tenons à exprimer ici notre profonde reconnaissance à M. Juan Alcina Rovira, assistant à l'Université de Barcelone, qui nous a signalé l'existence de ce manuscrit, nous a envoyé le microfilm, et nous a toujours répondu généreusement à toutes les questions que nous lui avons posées au sujet de ce manuscrit. Nous remercions aussi nos amis Gianni Ballistreri, Mirella Ferrari, Germano et Lucia Gualdo, Massimo Miglio, Agostino Sottili et Lionello Sozzi, qui ont répondu aimablement à nos requêtes et qui nous ont aidée de bien des manières.

Notre gratitude va aussi à M. le prof. G. Muraille, qui a revu le texte français.

C'est précisément à ces divers points de vue que le ms. 1010 de la Biblioteca de Cataluña à Barcelone, que nous étudierons ici, offre un intérêt certain.

C'est un manuscrit sur papier, 230 × 160 mm., relié en velin. Les six premières feuilles ont été chiffrées de 1 à 6 par une main postérieure. Commence alors une pagination des pages impaires allant de 1 à 221, puis de 223 à 225. Après la page 222 deux incunables ont été insérés, d'abord les *Auctores vetustissimi nuper in lucem editi* (Venetiis, Bernardinus Venetus, 1498), sign. a-i.iiii (Hain 12527), ensuite *Valerii Probi grammatici de interpretandis Romanorum litteris feliciter incipit* (Venetiis, Ioannes de Tridino, 1499), sign. a-e.iiii (Hain 13378).

Le manuscrit, acheté par la Biblioteca de Cataluña en 1928 chez le libraire Salvador Babra (Barcelone), a appartenu originellement au médecin lyonnais d'origine espagnole Gonsalvo de Toledo (cf. infra), dont l'ex-libris marque le f. 1^r : « Gondisalvi Toledo et amicorum ».

Il consiste en une collection d'inscriptions, d'épigrammes, d'épithaphes et de textes en prose, le tout d'origine et de provenance très diverses. Une première partie (pp. 1-163) est formée d'une collection d'inscriptions sous la rubrique : *Ex Monumentis Romanae Urbis et aliorum locorum sumpta*. Ce sont pour la plupart des inscriptions antiques qui se retrouvent dans le *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Elles sont précédées d'une épître d'un moine anonyme (f. 1^r), qui introduit un long poème en distiques déplorant les calamités de l'année 1503 (ff. 1^v-3^r). Ce poème est suivi par la *Formula honestae vitae* de saint Martin de Braga (ff. 3^r-6^r). La deuxième partie (pp. 164-225), que nous publierons intégralement dans la prochaine livraison de cette revue, est beaucoup plus importante pour l'histoire de l'humanisme en France : c'est un florilège de textes apparemment en vogue vers 1500 et adressé par Jean Calvet à Gonsalvo de Toledo, le premier propriétaire du manuscrit.

Qui est ce Jean Calvet ? Qui est son destinataire ?

Le 23 juillet 1521 Guillaume Budé expédie de Dijon la lettre suivante à Jean Calvet ¹ :

Gulielmus Budaeus Ioanni Calveto Salutem.

f. 27^v

Quo magis tuam paucorumque sortem animadverto, qui vitam hanc, quam nunc ago, exosi in secessum se receperunt tranquillae vitae desiderio, eo incommodius de me meritam Fortunam existimo ac dictitare soleo, quae me nec opinato in hoc pistrinum impegit improba et alligavit, unde vos (ut arbitror), soluti libere nunc agitis.

¹ *Epistolae Guilelmi Budaei secretarii regis posteriores* (Paris, 1522), ff. 27^v-28^v.

Verum ut iis demum sentire vim numenque libertatis ac recte eam colere et venerari contingit, qui in servitutem imprudentes abducti, sero eam requirunt, coelumque nequicquam votis fatigant aut querelis, et ut qui tempestate abrepti sunt in altum cum nausea et pavore, melius iam nosse coeperunt quanto certius et beatius erat sinuosis sese velis et prolectanti aequori non committere, ita cum aetate iam ingravescente, et a morbo quoque non leviter affecta, in conditionem hanc dedititiam aut nexum fortasse non illiberale addici me passus sim, acerbior utique desiderio nunc afficior tranquillae vitae ac studiosae, qua me ipse abdicasse haud satis auspicato videor.

In quod ipsum genus vitae non tam iudicio certaue destinatione arbitrii ac vitae recte instituendae proposito, rationes olim meas flexeram et contuleram, quam fato quodam peculiari delapsus sum primum et irretitus. Nam (per divam ipsam huius instituti praesidem) quod consilium capere tum poteram et confirmare ad eam vitam capessendam, quum nullum suasorem, nullum auctorem, ducem denique nullum haberem aut socium, ne comitem quidem et sectatorem, f. 28^r ut tum fuisse nosti / mores aut audivisti et instituta Galliae?

Quo tempore nemo ne meminerat quidem aut audierat de maioribus exemplum ullum hominis literis Latinis iusta doctrina aut memorabili vel incohata. Nam literarum Graecarum non est fabulosum esse commentitiumque haud ita pridem a nostris putabatur, diuque fidem ipse facere non potui.

Utinam igitur quando Fatum fuerat mihi nullo ut exemplo vitam instituerem, id quoque affatum esset (ut ita dicam) et a Parcis mihi datum, ut pensum absolverem.

Te vero prudentem simul et fortunatum ista sententia iudico; si tamen ea penitus sedit animo, ut literae tuae mihi persuaserunt, quippe qui tenerioris aetatis dispendium orbae ac destitutae morte parentum, sarcire nunc statueris annis firmioribus egregieque iam auspicatus sis.

Qui si studii literarii primordiis, quae in literis tuis elucet, pari successu deinceps maiora expolitioraque attexere institeris, ut et institutae rei summa poscit et animi huiuscemodi alacritas pollicetur ad culmen ipsa (ut videtur) erecta et intenta, nimirum ista quae te exuscitavit aemulatio, locum tibi numerumque inter paucos hominum celebrium tandem emerebitur.

Id quod si vivo me evenerit, libentius sane tibi alacriusque partam hac ratione gloriam ideo gratulabor, quod qui antea verbum mecum nunquam fecisses, tamen exemplo mei adductus sis (quod literae tuae testantur), ut inclarescere ingenio atque industria cuperes.

Id quod cum ipsum certum iam tibi esset et constitutum, primo quoque f. 28^v tempore (ut audio) e medio / te subductum illam in officinam dedisti hominum expoltricem, in qua praestantissimi quique homines maximeque eximii animi et ingenii, simulachra sibi fabricantur in aevum perennatura, folles utique ducente aemula contentione fortunarum intertrimenti rationem nullam habente.

Saluta mihi propinquos tuos Robertetos, pueros cum ingentis a parentibus spei et simul a patrimonio, tum etiam indolis eximiae, in gloriam illam quidem non mediocrem magis ac magis in dies proficientis.

Vale, Divione, decimo Calen. Aug. M.D.XXI.

Budé y félicite donc Jean Calvet de s'être retiré de la vie publique afin de pouvoir s'adonner entièrement aux belles lettres, ce qu'il n'a pas pu faire durant sa jeunesse du fait de la mort prématurée de ses parents. De la formule finale de cette missive, il ressort que Calvet est apparenté aux Robertet, famille dont est issu le fameux Florimond Robertet, secrétaire de Louis XII.

Or, les épîtres de Calvet qui accompagnent l'envoi du manuscrit à Gonsalvo de Toledo, sont écrites de Montbrisson, la ville originaire des Robertet. Selon le titre de ces lettres, qui datent respectivement du 24 décembre 1504 et du 9 août 1506, Jean Calvet était à ce moment *elector Forensis*, ce que nous interprétons par « élu du Forez », région du Lyonnais dont Feurs était la capitale ².

En dehors de ces maigres renseignements, on ignore tout de Jean Calvet. On l'a pourtant identifié avec Jean Calvau ou Chauveau, personnage important et mieux connu ³. Nous n'avons toutefois trouvé aucune confirmation de cette identification, qui nous laisse sceptique.

Ce Jean Calvau (Chauveau) a commencé sa carrière comme conseiller clerc de Louise de Savoie et de François, duc de Valois, et c'est sans doute par l'intermédiaire de cette princesse qu'il a obtenu de hautes fonctions dans la hiérarchie administrative et ecclésiastique, surtout après l'avènement de François I^{er}. En 1506 il figure comme signataire sur le contrat de mariage de Jeanne, fille de Jean de Saint-Gelais, ami intime de Louise de Savoie, avec Charles de Chabot, fils de Jacques, baron de Jarnac ⁴. Il était procureur du cardinal Philippe de Luxembourg et, depuis 1514, abbé du monastère augustin de La Couronne-en-Marthon, aux environs d'Angoulême ⁵.

En mars 1515, l'année même de l'avènement de François I^{er}, il fut nommé évêque de Senlis; il fit son entrée solennelle dans l'église épiscopale le 1 février 1516 ⁶.

En 1516 il fit partie d'une commission qui devait se prononcer sur le

² L'élu était à cette époque le délégué pour la levée et le maniement des deniers publics dans des circonscriptions déterminées, appelées élections. Cf. J. H. Shennan, *Government and Society in France, 1461-1661*, Historical Problems, Studies and Documents, 7 (London - New York, 1969), pp. 50-1.

³ Cette identification est proposée par Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II, 419.

⁴ Cf. Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, IV, 51, n. 2 et R. de Maulde la Clavière, *Louise de Savoie et François I^{er}. Trente ans de jeunesse* (Paris, 1895), p. 196.

⁵ Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, II, 1046.

⁶ Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, X, 1439.

projet d'un concordat entre le pape et la France⁷. Après la mort, en 1518, de Michel Bureau, abbé de Saint-Pierre-de-la-Couture dans l'évêché du Mans, il fut désigné par le roi comme abbé de ce monastère, contre la volonté des moines, qui avaient élu à cette charge Jean Bougler, partisan d'une profonde réforme monastique; il y fit son entrée solennelle en 1520⁸.

Maître de requêtes de l'hôtel du roi depuis 1515, il suivait à intervalles réguliers les déplacements du souverain. Au retour d'une ambassade à Rome et en Suisse il s'arrêta à Lyon, où se trouvait alors la cour, et y mourut inopinément le 22 juin 1522. Son successeur dans la charge de maître de requêtes fut Guillaume Budé, qui fut reçu au parlement le 21 août 1522⁹, et annonça son entrée en fonction en remplacement de Jean Calvau dans une lettre à Erasme datant du 14 décembre 1522¹⁰.

Quant à Gonsalvo de Toledo, le destinataire du recueil, les renseignements que nous possédons à son sujet proviennent pour la plupart des épîtres introductives de quelques impressions lyonnaises, en premier lieu d'ouvrages du médecin et humaniste Symphorien Champier¹¹. Nous savons qu'attaché à la personne d'Anne de Bretagne depuis 1498, Gonsalvo fut aussi médecin ordinaire de Jeanne la Folle. C'est en cette dernière qualité qu'il écrivit une lettre, datée du 8 novembre 1505, à la belle-sœur de la reine de Castille, Marguerite d'Autriche, à propos de la construction du monastère de Brou¹². En 1496 déjà, Gonsalvo

⁷ Cf. Jules Thomas, *Le concordat de 1516. Ses origines. Son histoire au XVI^e siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1910), I, 375. A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*. Deuxième édition revue et corrigée (Paris, 1953), pp. 580-1.

⁸ Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, 481.

⁹ Cf. Guillaume Budé, *Catalogue de l'exposition à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1968), p. 22, n° 86 : le document aux Archives Nationales, X1a 1524, f. 365.

¹⁰ Louis Delaruelle, *Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Guillaume Budé* (Toulouse-Paris, 1907), p. 195-6, n° 139; Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie, *La correspondance d'Erasme et de Guillaume Budé. Traduction intégrale, annotation et index biographique*, De Pétrarque à Descartes XIII (Paris, 1967), 234-7.

¹¹ La notice que lui consacre E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1936), I, 209-10, apporte aussi quelques détails biographiques. Voir en outre J. B. Wadsworth, *Lyons 1473-1503. The Beginnings of Cosmopolitanism*, The Mediaeval Academy of America, 73 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962), qui situe Gonsalvo dans son milieu et dans le contexte culturel, mais le confond avec son fils Antoine.

¹² Cette lettre repose aux Archives du Nord (Lille), B 857, n° 24015. Cf. M. Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Savoie* (Lille, 1927), p. 188, n. 1.

avait édité l'œuvre de Jean Ganivet sous le titre *Amicus medicorum magistri Joannis Ganiveti cum opusculo quod celi enarrant* (Lyon, Jean Trechsel, 1496; exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, inc. 890). Il dédia cet ouvrage de portée philosophique, astrologique et médicale, à Jérôme Ferrera, lui aussi médecin d'origine espagnole résidant à Lyon¹³ et, selon la lettre dédicatoire de Gonsalvo, tenu en grand estime parmi les notables de la ville.

Gonsalvo lui-même est le destinataire de l'épître introductive du *Libelli duo, primus de medicine claris scriptoribus, secundus de legum divinarum conditionibus* (Lyon, s.n.a.; ex. Bibl. Maz. 29040), fol. a.i.^{r+v} de Symphorien Champier. Champier la lui adressa au cours de la période où Gonsalvo était médecin ordinaire de la reine Anne. De l'avis de Champier il n'y a pas de meilleur censeur pour son œuvre que Gonsalvo. Il lui demande donc d'en relever les imperfections afin qu'elle devienne digne de l'immortalité. Il espère aussi que la lecture de son ouvrage distraira son ami :

« Quapropter cum nemo quam tu huic rei magis ydoneus visus esset, qui huiusmodi lucubratione delectaretur, ad te potissimum confugi, hac epistola huius operis censorem te constituens. Etenim si quid inconcinnum ineruditumque offenderis, hoc meo imbecilli studio attribues. Non enim he vires mee sunt, ut audeam mihi (nisi te auspice) eternitatis nomen vindicare.

Accipies igitur leta fronte hunc libellum meum de claris medicis scriptoribusque / artis nostre, quam Apolineam artem vulgus appellat, tuo nomini dicatum. Quem cum legeris, non vereor quin te aliquando sit post curiales occupationes ob suam brevitem oblectaturus... »

Avant 1507 Gonsalvo démissionna de sa fonction de médecin de la cour, comme il résulte de la lettre qu'il adressa à son ancien collègue Gabriel Miro¹⁴, resté au service de la reine. Dans cette lettre qui est datée du 16 février 1507 et qui introduit le *Tractatus celeberrimus de febribus litteratissimi doctoris Marsilii de Sancta Sophia Patavini* (Lyon, 1507; ex. Bibl. Maz. 29469), Gonsalvo évoque le souvenir de leur séjour commun dans l'entourage de la reine (fol.ij.^r) :

¹³ E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique*, II, 509.

¹⁴ Gabriel Miro, surnommé le jeune, était fils de François Miro, médecin de Charles VIII, et neveu de Gabriel Miro l'aîné. Il naquit à Perpignan et étudia la médecine à Montpellier. La reine Anne se l'attacha comme médecin ordinaire; après le mariage de la reine avec Louis XII, il entra également au service du roi. Cf. E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique*, I, 161.

« Vite tue interfui, cum nuper serenissimam Francorum reginam, heram nostram, per septem annos una tecum fui secutus. Cuius servitium ob egram mei valitudinem deserere fui coactus. Tunc ego ingenii tui vigorem perspexi et acrimoniam, intus et in cute te novi. Quare cum tibi plurimum debeam, memorque salis quod una in domo regine comedimus, cum amor nullo magis emitur quam seipso et in amore mutuum non reddere turpissimum est. Quid autem rependam non satis habeam. Nam (preter chartaria dona) reliquum nobis est nihil... »

N'étant pas assez riche pour faire à son ami un cadeau somptueux, Gonsalvo espère lui faire plaisir en lui offrant ce petit traité, maniable et pratique, qui pourra lui servir de compagnon de voyage lors de ses nombreux déplacements dans la suite de la reine :

« Cogitavi partem me obligationis implere, si practicam litteratissimi expertissimique domini Marsilii de Sancta Sophia Patavini (quam de febribus edidit) parvo in volumine calchographis traderem imprimendam tibi dicatam existimarem, cui sine libris vita mors est. Sic nostro et publico commodo consulere tanquam annosam arborem transplantans. Nam cum una in curia regine essemus, hinc et inde discurrentes festinique viatores essemus, ob crebram locorum mutationem perpauco codices nobiscum differre dabatur occasio. Hec igitur practica... tibi comes fieri poterit. »

Dans le *Liber de quadruplici vita* de Symphorien Champier (Lyon, 31 juillet 1507; ex. Bibl. Maz. 5781 B), les ff. a.iiii.^v-a.v.^r reproduisent une lettre de Gonsalvo à Champier, dans laquelle il remercie son collègue de lui avoir adressé le manuscrit de cet ouvrage si original et si parfait. Pour témoigner sa dette il a résolu d'en donner une édition :

« Quare pro munere isto ipso pulcherrimo tuo, hoc ego vicissim cum maius aliud parvus ipse non possum tibi rependere, statui studiose curare ut ab uno eo codice, quem docta tua manu exarasti meque donasti, impressorum officio plurima ad posteros se turba spargat atque diffundat.

Quod facturum equidem sum cum grati animi vinculo tum potiore isto consilio ut te / vendicem prorsus ab omni cogitatione vel cura tuorum egrorum crebra visitatione, reique tue familiaris curis eximam. »

Dans une des *Epistole varie ad eundem dominum Simphorianum* publiées à la suite du *Liber de quadruplici vita* (ff. G.iiii.^v-G.v^v), Gonsalvo se réjouit et se vante de l'honneur que Champier lui a fait en lui envoyant le manuscrit du *De claris medicine scriptoribus*, et en faisant ainsi de lui le premier lecteur de ce livre :

« Tanta est enim tuorum etsi erga omnes satis abunde, erga me tamen precipue magnitudo beneficiorum, / ut ante diem clauso componeret Vesper Olimpo <VERG. *Aen.* 1, 374>.

Munus insuper iucundissimum desideratissimumque ad me destinasti, quod de medicine scriptoribus eternitate dignis accuratissime tuis lucubrationibus aggregasti. Quod ita avide legi ut (more Bitie Virgiliani, qui *impiger hausit spumantem pateram et pleno proluit auro*) <VERG. *Aen.* 1, 737-8> statim prima die quasi absque interspiratione totum hauserim.

Tibi igitur imprimis et habeo et ago gratias immortales agamque, — *dum spiritus hos reget artus* <VER. *Aen.* 4, 336> —, quod me, omnibus posthabitis, et honesta voluptate perfrui et participem tuarum lucubrationum fieri volueris. »

Gonsalvo loue Champier de la continuité et de la diversité de sa production littéraire et il le félicite surtout pour sa *Nef des Dames*, ouvrage par lequel il s'est assuré le respect et l'admiration de toutes les nobles dames et surtout de l'admirable jeune femme qui est devenue son épouse :

« Item quod silentio pretereundum non est : librum *Navis dominarum* intitulatum, quem demum, ubi complures apud te dies latuisset, imprimendum Lugduni chalcographis commisisti, qui honestarum mulierum refertus laudibus bibliopole egressus officinam honorifice ab eisdem receptus est. Qua ex re (licet non parum antea) multo amplius dominarum animos demeritus es, adeo ut virginem *prestanti corpore formaque pulcherrima connubio iunxerunt stabili propriamque dicarunt, omnes ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem* <VERG. *Aen.* 1, 71-5>.

Gonsalvo avait un fils, Antoine ¹⁵, docteur en médecine comme lui et fort intéressé par l'astrologie et la philosophie. C'est à ce fils qu'il adressa l'épître qui accompagne la nouvelle édition de l'*Amicus medicorum* de Jean Ganivet (Lyon, Jean Clein, 1508) dans un volume où figurent d'autres opuscules de caractère philosophique. Dans cette épître intitulée *Epistola astrologie defensiva*, il considère l'astrologie comme une science supérieure à toutes les autres, dont elle constitue l'indispensable base; c'est surtout à la médecine qu'elle peut rendre d'incalculables services.

* * *

¹⁵ Antoine a été élève de Josse Bade à l'époque où celui-ci exerçait encore le métier d'imprimeur à Lyon. C'est ce qu'on peut déduire de l'épître introductive de Bade à l'édition commentée du *De arte poetica* d'Horace (editio princeps : Paris, 13-22 septembre 1503; cf. Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II, p. 26, n° 11). Cette épître est adressée à quelques anciens élèves, parmi lesquels il cite Antoine de Toledo. Dans plusieurs ouvrages d'intérêt philosophique, astrologique ou médical, imprimés à Lyon entre 1515 et 1522 (cf. Baudrier, IV, 201; V, 361; VI, 109-10; VII, 164; VIII, 422 et 429), on rencontre des pièces en prose ou même en vers composées par Antoine ou à lui adressées; elles témoignent des relations très amicales qu'il entretenait avec nombre de gens appartenant au milieu des médecins et des typographes de sa Lyon.

Mais revenons à notre manuscrit.

L'intérêt particulier de ce recueil réside dans le fait qu'il contient dans sa seconde partie beaucoup d'épigrammes, pour la plupart inédites, de divers poètes italiens qui ont trouvé un refuge passager ou définitif à la cour de Louis XII et d'Anne de Bretagne.

Il y a d'abord Fausto Andrelini ¹⁶, né à Forlì, très probablement en 1462, arrivé en France en 1488 et promu poète royal par Charles VIII en 1496. Après la mort de ce dernier en 1498, Andrelini s'est assuré la faveur du nouveau souverain, Louis XII, et a fait partie du cénacle de rhétoriciens et d'humanistes qui se réunissait autour de la reine Anne, surtout durant les opérations militaires de son mari.

Tandis que, dans ses poèmes politiques (ils forment la majeure partie de son œuvre), il fait l'éloge des conquêtes italiennes du roi, dans ses épigrammes, encore inédites, (manuscrit latin 8134 de la BN de Paris), il évoque la vie quotidienne à la cour. Quelques-unes de ces épigrammes ont été reprises dans notre manuscrit.

Un autre poète italien apparaît dans ce dernier : Lodovico Heliano de Vercell. Cet auteur, de nos jours complètement tombé dans l'oubli, est représenté dans notre recueil par quelques épigrammes, souvent composées dans un esprit de rivalité avec Fausto Andrelini, et une longue pièce en distiques écrite en 1505 après le rétablissement presque miraculeux du roi. Cette élogie révèle des particularités sur la vie de l'auteur. Nous en avons trouvé confirmation dans l'introduction à l'épithalame qu'il rédigea pour le mariage, conclu en mai 1505, de Suzanne de Bourbon, fille de Pierre de Bourbon, sire de Beaujeu et d'Anne de France, avec Charles de Bourbon-Montpensier, fils de Gilbert de Montpensier, comte d'Auvergne ¹⁷.

Cette pièce, comptant huit distiques seulement et intitulée *Epigramma nuptiale* est rédigée en forme de dialogue entre le poète et un passant curieux. L'auteur la fait suivre d'un long commentaire servant à expli-

¹⁶ Voir l'article de R. Weiss, « Fausto Andrelini », in : *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1960-), III (1961), 138-41; Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, *Publius Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviensis. Leven, werk en kritische geannoteerde editie van de « Livia »*, 2 vols, Louvain, 1973 (thèse doct. inédite).

¹⁷ Cet épithalame se lit dans le ms. 3201 de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève à Paris. Ce manuscrit, qui date du début du XVI^e siècle, est de parchemin, 194 × 124 mm, 23 ff. chiffrés. Cf. Ch. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, 3 vols (Paris, 1893-1913), II, 628.

quer les allusions historiques et mythologiques et à justifier le rapprochement qu'il opère entre les jeunes époux et les dieux Apollon et Charis. L'épître préliminaire est adressée à Anne de Beaujeu, mère de la jeune mariée ¹⁸ :

Illustrissimae Borbonensium duci Annae Lodovicus Helianus Vercellensis f. 1^v
utriusque iuris doctor salutem.

Quom ad Susanne filie tue nuptias celebrandas, o Anna dux gloriosissima, multi cum muneribus adsint, mihi in quem extant tot beneficia regis Caroli fratris tui et Giliberti, patris Caroli generi tui, visum fuit indignum, si ego quoque non aliquid micerem. Sed non habeo aurum aut delitias aliquas, quandoquidem bellis Siculis omnia perdidi ¹⁹. Superfuerunt tamen quidam versiculi, quos ex adolescentie mee scriniolis deprompsi; eos cum interpretatione ad tuam amplitudinem micto, qui in illo nuptiali plausu pro me saltabunt et veluti mimmi aut hystiones parasita-/buntur. Accipies igitur munus- f. 2^r
culum quantulumcumque ea dignum gratitudine qua offertur. Fortassis in eo invenies aliquid cuius suavitate magis quam aliorum magnitudine delectaberis. Quodsi cetera defuerint, hoc tamen habebunt, quod aliorum dona, quamvis maxima, corpori tantum utilia cito consummentur; at vero isthaec nostra magnum novis nuptis animis fructum allatura tum maxime florere incipient quom alia deficient; quibus, si fortuna non obfuerit, non solum harum nuptiarum sed nominis tui paternae fraternaeque gloriae testes clari aeternique citari poterint. Bene vale.

Parisiis, Calendis Februariis.

Dans le ms. Magliabechiano VII, 1183 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale à Florence, nous avons trouvé, à la suite d'une version de l'éloge pour le rétablissement de Louis XII de Lodovico Heliano, une longue pièce en vers écrite par la même main et sur le même papier. L'auteur y reproche au roi sa faiblesse envers les Espagnols et sa trahison à l'égard des nobles du parti pro-français dans le royaume de Naples. Il les a abandonnés complètement à la merci des Espagnols. Cette pièce est probablement, elle aussi, de la main de Lodovico Heliano et elle pourrait faire apparaître les relations du poète avec la cour de France sous un autre jour. Nous la publierons dans le prochain volume de cette revue, en marge de l'édition du *Votum* de Heliano.

¹⁸ Nous reproduisons cette épître, étant donné sa grande valeur pour la reconstruction de la biographie de l'auteur. Nous nous proposons de publier l'épithalame dans un proche avenir avec quelques autres, écrits, eux aussi, par des poètes italiens pour des membres de la famille royale française.

¹⁹ Dans le *Votum* (n° 38 de la deuxième partie de notre manuscrit : à paraître dans le prochain volume de *HL*) également, Heliano fait allusion à la ruine dont il a été victime après l'expulsion des Français du territoire napolitain en 1503.

Outre ces poèmes essentiellement anecdotiques, Heliano a laissé quelques ouvrages en prose de caractère politique et diplomatique. Deux ont été conservés dans le ms. lat. 6204 de la BN de Paris. En premier lieu la harangue politique *Ad Ludovicum regem Galliarum eius nominis XII Lodovici Heliani utriusque iuris doctoris de bello reparando adversus Hispanos oratio* (ff. 1^r-41^r)²⁰, où l'humaniste italien veut persuader le roi de reprendre la guerre contre les perfides Espagnols afin de récupérer le territoire perdu dans l'Italie méridionale. Bien qu'il ne cesse de louer le courage et l'héroïsme des Français et de blâmer la lâcheté espagnole, il ne peut s'empêcher de critiquer la conduite du duc de Nemours et de son armée dans la bataille décisive livrée près de Cerignola en avril 1503²¹ (ff. 26^v-27^r) :

« Ad Cidoniolam vero avaritia Gallorum, ignavia, discordia hostibus victoriam dedit. Ego neminem nomino sed unusquisque Gallorum suis cupiditatibus serviebat, suo appetitu trahebatur; aviditas inexplibilis, gula immensa, scorta, alee, commensationes, computationes usque ad stellam diurnam, contumelie inter eos, rixae, invidiae, certamina inter duces Gallos quam cum hoste maiora; miles contumax, sediciosus, imperiosus neque ducibus parere dignabatur, neque duces conscii errata militum castigare audebant.

Galli non perdidissent, si viribus suis non amplius unam noctem temperare voluissent, sed dux iuvenis, quibusdam furentibus parere compulsus, contra loci naturam pugnans sub initium noctis insperatam hosti victoriam dedit et ita qui mane cathenis trahi putavit triumphali curru vectus est. »

Au f. 34^v Heliano énumère les qualités requises du futur commandant de cette guerre contre les Espagnols : il devra différer complètement du trop téméraire duc de Nemours et du trop débile marquis de Saluces :

« Quod si Consalvus cum isto congregietur, iam intelliget non sibi negotium fore cum duce Nemausio illo adolescente, neque cum Salutiano illo debili et emerito sene, sed cum eo cuius integritatem saepe tu, severitatem saepe milites, magnanimitatem saepe hostes experti sunt. »

Dans la lettre qui suit aux ff. 42^r-43^r, Heliano incite le souverain à entreprendre la guerre contre les Turcs et lui demande de faire entrer le

²⁰ Ce discours, écrit en écriture humaniste libraire, est précédé d'une superbe miniature, représentant le roi assis sur son trône et recevant un manuscrit des mains de l'auteur, ce qui nous porte à croire qu'il s'agit ici de l'exemplaire de dédicace, offert par le poète au roi.

²¹ Voir le récit de cette bataille dans Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 167-77.

précédent discours dans la bibliothèque royale, afin que la lecture de cet ouvrage pousse la postérité à achever la croisade entreprise par Louis XII.

Aux ff. 47^r-51^v se trouve un autre opusculé d'Heliano, intitulé *Ad Lodovicum regem Galliarum Lodovici Heliani paradoxum*²². L'auteur y parle d'une histoire de Louis XII qu'il avait entamée en collaboration avec le marquis de Bitonto, Andrea Matteo Acquaviva²³, lui-même narrant en latin les exploits du roi, Acquaviva le faisant en grec; mais les événements déplorables qui ont accablé leur pays les ont empêchés de mener à bonne fin cette entreprise et il demande à Louis de leur donner les moyens de la terminer (f. 50^v) :

« Quare, Rex Lodovice, ego et Marchisius Bythontinus in hoc genere litterarum delectati, ille Graece et ego Latine historiam rerum a te gestarum perpetuis tuis invictis factis trophaeum et tuarum maximarum virtutum grave testimonium scribere exorsi fueraus, ut tua gloriosissima facta non solum omnibus saeculis, sed etiam omnium gentium linguis ac litteris perlegerentur. Sed ille carcere et quindecim vulneribus pro te acceptis, ego hostili dirreptione etiam pro te rebus omnibus exutus impediti fuimus.

Sed procura illi libertatem, mihi autem ut tuam intelligam liberalitatem, et perficiemus opus quod fortassis in quamplurimis desyderares. »

La gloire et les richesses sont périssables, mais l'œuvre des deux humanistes pourrait éterniser les faits héroïques de Louis XII (f. 51^r) :

« Qui nunc tibi blandiuntur, omnes te deserent et ad centesimum annum, immo ad quinquagesimum et illi te et tu illos in umbris oblivionis amittes.

Soli Lodovicus Helianus et marchio Bythontinus praecones et tibicines tui, qui nunc tibi viles fortassis habentur, te comitabuntur, te conspectui viventium reddent, te triumphantem per hominum ora divulgabunt. Quod dicetur te Neapolim, te Mediolanum, te Genuam tuis armis perpregisse, tua clementia conservavisse, te Turcis, te Aegyptiis formidatum et quodam plausu legentium excipieris ab omnibus in templis, in bellis, in consiliis. »

C'est sans doute son éloquence qui lui a valu d'être envoyé en 1510 comme ambassadeur du roi de France auprès du roi Ladislaus II de Hongrie pour l'amener à adhérer à la Ligue contre Venise. Au cours de son voyage il fit un arrêt à Augsbourg, où il assista à la diète. Il y prononça un discours véhément contre les Vénitiens, intitulé *Ludovici Heliani Vercellensis christianissimi Francorum regis senatoris ac oratoris*

²² Il est écrit en écriture humaniste cursive et on peut se demander s'il ne s'agit pas ici de l'autographe.

²³ Il est question de ce personnage dans le *Votum*, aux vv. 139 ss.

de bello suscipiendo adversus Venetianos et Turcas oratio ²⁴. Au mois de juin, il arriva à Vienne, où il devait rencontrer l'ambassadeur de l'empereur et celui du pape. Il visita les curiosités de la ville et rédigea une épitaphe pour le tombeau de l'empereur Frédéric III ²⁵. Son arrogance et sa suffisance vexèrent à ce point les ambassadeurs autrichiens, le comte de Hag et le chevalier Johan Mraken von Noskau, auxquels s'était joint Johannes Cuspinianus, qu'ils s'en plaignirent à l'empereur dans une lettre du 29 juillet 1510.

Le 23 juin le roi hongrois reçut les ambassadeurs en audience et ce fut Heliano qui prit la parole. En dépit des tentatives de modération faites par les ambassadeurs autrichiens, son discours contenait des propos si outrageants à l'adresse des Vénitiens qu'il produisit une impression pénible sur l'auditoire. Environ un mois plus tard, les ambassadeurs rentrèrent dans leur pays avec un projet de convention provisoire, qui devait être ratifié par leurs souverains respectifs.

Reste encore à situer un troisième personnage, Bernardino Dardano de Parme, qui, lui aussi, est largement représenté dans notre manuscrit, surtout par des poèmes de circonstance ²⁶.

²⁴ Le discours a été publié à Augsbourg chez J. Othmar, le 12 mai 1510. Il a été imprimé diverses fois au cours des siècles suivants. Il apparaît entre autres, paraphrasé, dans *J. Trithemii Annalium Hirsaugiensium opus... complectens historiam Franciae et Germaniae...*, 2 vols (Sancti-Galli, 1690), II, 650-9. Cette harangue a été publiée intégralement dans M. Freher - B. G. Struve, *Rerum Germanicarum scriptores...*, 3 vols (Argentorati, 1717), II, 522-33, avec un poème allégorique intitulé *Venatio leonum*. Cette chasse aux lions fait allusion, de façon symbolique, à la défaite des Vénitiens en 1509 contre les souverains alliés. Le poème se lit, manuscrit, à Venise dans le ms. latin, classe XIV, 246 (4683) de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

Pour les autres réimpressions du texte latin de ce discours et des traductions italiennes et françaises, on verra Klaus Arnold, *Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516)*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg, XXIII (Würzburg, 1971), p. 241, et à BM, vol. 101, col. 251, s.v. Helianus.

Kristeller signale dans son *Iter Italicum* plusieurs copies manuscrites conservées dans diverses bibliothèques italiennes : il y a des exemplaires à Milan, Naples, Parme, Trévise, Turin, Venise et au Vatican. Des manuscrits de la traduction italienne se trouvent à Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Palatino 1033, et à Venise, Biblioteca Marciana, Ital. classe XI. cod. 170.

²⁵ Nous empruntons ces détails sur la mission diplomatique d'Heliano à H. Ankewicz-Kleehoven, *Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian, Gelehrter und Diplomat zur Zeit Maximilians I* (Graz-Köln, 1959), 48-51. L'épitaphe d'Heliano pour Frédéric III est publiée là, à la p. 48, n. 1.

²⁶ La principale source dont nous disposons pour retracer sa biographie est toujours l'article d'Ireneo Affò dans *Memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani*, 7 tomes en 9 vols (Parma, 1789-1833), III, 239-53.

Né en 1472 à Parme d'un père avocat, il fut destiné par ses parents aux études juridiques, mais très tôt il se sentit attiré par la pratique des belles lettres et fut admis aux réunions littéraires auxquelles participaient Francesco Maria Grapaldo (Parme, ca. 1464-1515) et Taddeo Ugoletto (†Parme, 1514). Vers 1490 il entra au service de Jacopo Rossi, capitaine de Venise à Verone, et voua alors sa vie aux armes, à la chasse, à la poésie et à l'amour pour une certaine Domitilla²⁷. Contraint de quitter la ville pour des raisons qu'il n'a jamais clairement expliquées, il se remit, sur les instances de son frère, à l'étude du droit; il y renonça bientôt pour se mettre sous la protection de Giorgio Natta, personnage influent à la cour du marquis Boniface III Paleologo à Casalmonferrato²⁸. Quand Charles VIII fit le siège de cette ville, Dardano vécut des moments pénibles. Après le rétablissement de la paix en Italie il passa au service de Louis II, marquis de Saluces, et trouva dans ce gentilhomme un protecteur bienveillant. Saluces avait épousé une Française, Marguerite de Foix²⁹, et il servit loyalement le roi de France durant les déplacements de celui-ci en Italie pendant l'été 1502³⁰; en 1503 il participa aux opérations militaires contre les Espagnols pour sauvegarder le territoire français dans l'Italie méridionale. Après la perte de Gaète le 4 janvier 1504, le marquis regagna Gênes en compagnie d'autres capitaines français et il y mourut d'épuisement³¹.

Dardano séjourna en France en 1502 en compagnie de son ami Vivaldi³² et on peut se demander s'il n'accompagna pas la marquise,

²⁷ La description de la vie qu'il mena dans l'entourage de Jacopo Rossi est fournie par une élégie qu'il adressa à son ami « Jason poeta Appulus ». Elle se lit dans le premier de ses *Adolescentie libri duo*, conservés à Parme, Biblioteca Palatina, Fondo Parmense, ms. 346, f. 6^{r+v}.

Ce manuscrit, probablement autographe, a vraisemblablement été écrit vers 1502. Il contient des vers d'amour datant de son séjour à Vérone et adressés à Domitilla, des élégies religieuses et de nombreux poèmes de circonstance, adressés à des amis à Vérone et à Casalmonferrato. Cf. G. Vinay, *L'umanesimo subalpino nel secolo XV. Studi e ricerche*, Biblioteca della società storica subalpina, CXLVIII (Torino, 1935), p. 150, n. 1. Vinay publie (pp. 278-90) un choix des épigrammes de ce manuscrit.

²⁸ Sur la période de sa vie que Dardano passa au service de Giorgio Natta, cf. G. Vinay, pp. 150-6.

²⁹ Elle était la sœur de Gaston de Foix, comte de Candalle et de Benauges.

³⁰ Cf. Jean D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 15 et 25.

³¹ Voir le jugement porté sur ce capitaine par Heliano dans son *Ad Lodovicum regem Galliarum paradoxon* cité plus haut.

³² Dardano écrivit l'épître préliminaire à l'ouvrage de J. L. Vivaldus, *Aureum opus de veritate contritionis, in quo mirifica documenta eterne salutis aperiuntur*, Salutiis im-

Marguerite de Foix, lorsqu'elle rendit visite à la reine de France en avril 1504 ³³.

Au cours d'un de ses séjours en France il fit la connaissance de Beatus Rhenanus, auquel il a dédié une épigramme intitulée *Beato Rhenano Academiae Germaniae erectori B. Dardanus Parmensis* ³⁴.

Il a joui aussi de la faveur de Georges d'Amboise, le neveu du cardinal et ministre de Louis XII. On lit en effet dans la préface à l'édition d'un discours qu'il avait prononcé quelques années auparavant ³⁵ :

« Proditura (oratio) itaque te potissimum, Georgii, Ambasie domus maximum ornamentum, elegit sub cuius auspiciis et nomine adpareret. Patrocinio enim tuo subfulta et tutius et audentius in publicum exhibit. Has igitur veluti studiorum nostrorum primicias tibi nuncupamus, non ut munus aliquod a me accipere putes vel quo tue erga me humanitati ex re tantilla quidquam debeatur aut exsolvatur, verum ut sint mee erga te observantie grateque animi significationis testimonium. Neque enim mihi dissimulare licet quantum favoris et gratiae hac tua in omnis litteratos ingenua comitate et benignitate non solum apud Gallos, verum et apud nostros tibi conciliaris. »

Dardano demande à son destinataire de ne pas refuser à cet opuscule la bienveillance qu'il a marquée à l'auteur lui-même en l'accueillant chaleureusement :

« Interea si hec nostra veluti precursoria, qua me ipsum hilaritate consuevisti, suscipies — teque minime adspernari intelligam —, que mihi et ab adolescentia et diversis temporibus cum soluta, tum equestri oratione exciderunt, hinc et inde neglecte iacentia impensius requiram et in melius reformabo. Vale et Dardanum clientem tuum ama. »

pressum expensis principis Ludovici Marchionis Salutarum ac Vice-regis Neapolitani, per fratres Guillerms. Le Signerre, 1504.

³³ Cf. Jean D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 338.

³⁴ Cette épigramme se lit sur la face intérieure du plat supérieur de l'exemplaire du *Decem librorum moralium Aristotelis tres conversiones* (Paris, Henri Estienne, le 5 août 1505), qui appartient à Beatus Rhenanus. Cf. G. Knod, *Aus der Bibliothek des Beatus Rhenanus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 71, n° 166 et p. 109, où l'épigramme a été imprimée.

³⁵ Ce discours a été publié avec quelques poésies juvéniles sous le titre : *Heus lector. Quaedam ex adolescentia Dardani...* (s.l.n.d.); cf. Reichling, 140, qui propose « ca 1490 » comme date de publication. GW, VII, 275 place la publication après 1504, vu que, dans la préface, Georges d'Amboise est qualifié de trésorier de l'église de Rouen, fonction qu'il remplit à partir de 1504. D'autre part, comme dans une des *Sylves* d'Antoine Forestier (Sylvius), publiées le 15 décembre 1508, Dardano est exhorté encore à publier enfin ses vers élégiaques (cf. ci-après, p. 85), la date de publication doit être fixée après 1508.

Deux hendécasyllabes adressés par Antoine Forestier à Dardano et un autre de Dardano destiné à Forestier sont imprimés dans la *Sylvula* de ce dernier ³⁶.

Dans la première de ces piécettes (fol. F. 4^v), Forestier exhorte Dardano à publier finalement ses charmantes poésies juvéniles. Les deux autres pièces ont été écrites lors d'un séjour de Forestier en Italie ³⁷. Elles sont tout à fait opposées au climat général qui caractérise alors les relations culturelles entre la France et l'Italie ³⁸. L'Italien Dardano complimente ici le Français Forestier d'avoir égalé et même surpassé par ses admirables vers les Italiens les plus distingués. Forestier, en réponse, lui demande de modérer ses louanges, elles pourraient choquer ses compatriotes italiens et les rendre tous les deux odieux à ceux-ci.

Bernardino Dardano est aussi l'auteur d'un sonnet à la louange du chevalier Andrea Baiardo de Parme. Cette pièce de vers a été publiée avec quelques autres poésies élogieuses à la fin de la première partie du *Trattato amoroso de Hadriano e de Narcisa composto per il magnifico cavalliero meser Andrea Baiardo da Parma intitolato Philogyne* (Parme, 1508), au f. Y.v.^r ³⁹.

Dardano resta attaché à la maison de Saluces jusqu'en 1510, puis se mit au service de Jean Olivier ⁴⁰, nommé chancelier du sénat milanais par le roi de France, et lui dédia un poème à l'occasion de son entrée à

³⁶ *Antonii Sylvioli Parrhisiensis sylvula* (Papiae, per magistrum Bernardinum Geraldum, 1508).

³⁷ Au f. K 3^v, Sylviolus se désigne en effet :

« ... caelo genitum procul Latino,

Musarum in patria advenam hospitemque ».

³⁸ A propos de cette rivalité cf. F. Simone, *Il Rinascimento francese, studi e ricerche*, Biblioteca di studi francesi, 1 (Torino, 1965^a), pp. 45-70; L. Sozzi, « La polémique anti-italienne en France au XVI^e siècle », *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 106 (1971-1972), 99-190; N. Mann, « Humanisme et patriotisme en France au XV^e siècle », *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 23 (1971), 51-66 et P. Jodogne, « La correspondance de Symphorien Champier avec Jérôme de Pavie dans le 'duellum epistolare' », in *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy. Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain, May 11-13, 1970*, ed. G. Verbeke and J. IJsewijn, *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia* I, 1 (Leuven, 1972), 44-56.

³⁹ Pour la description de cet ouvrage nous renvoyons au *Catalogue des livres manuscrits et imprimés composant la bibliothèque de M. Horace de Landau*, 2 vols (Florence, 1885-90), II, 267-8.

⁴⁰ Sur ce dignitaire qui fut abbé des monastères de Saint-Crépin et de Saint-Médard à Soissons, cf. *Gallia Christiana*, IX, 403-21.

Milan ⁴¹. Mais le roi révoqua rapidement son représentant et le poète se vit privé de tout appui. Il exprima son désespoir dans l'élégie intitulée *Desperatio ad Ioannem Oliverium Abbatem Suetionensem* ⁴² : de perpétuels échecs ne jalonnent pas seulement sa carrière mais aussi sa vie amoureuse, et l'Italie, déchirée par des guerres continuelles, ne peut lui assurer un refuge tranquille.

Enfin Dardano passa à Rome sous le pontificat de Léon X. Nous trouvons quelques pièces de sa main dans le recueil poétique publié à Rome en juillet 1524 et intitulé *Coryciana*, du nom du Luxembourgeois Johannes Coritius (Hans Goritz), qui, vers 1514, avait offert à l'église romaine de St. Augustin une statue d'Andrea Sansovino, représentant l'Enfant Jésus, la Sainte Vierge et Ste Anne. Chaque année, des poètes déposaient des vers aux pieds de la statue, avant de participer à un somptueux banquet dans les jardins de Coritius ⁴³. Ces vers formaient l'essentiel des *Coryciana*. Selon Francesco Arsilli da Sinigaglia, auteur du *De poetis urbanis* ⁴⁴ publié à la suite des *Coryciana*, Dardano aurait été honoré par Charles V de la couronne poétique.

Dans sa vieillesse le poète retourna enfin à Parme, sa cité natale; il y décéda le 26 février 1535 et fut enterré en l'église Saint-Jean l'Evangéliste.

⁴¹ *Ad magnificum Dominum Senatus Mediolanensis cancellarium silva* (Paris, Guillaume Eustace, s.d.). Nous avons consulté l'exemplaire de la BN, Rés. G. 2805.

⁴² Cette élégie a été publiée avec *B. Dardani Dialogus in spem lepidissimus, Eiusdem dialogus in iustitiam, quae poterat dicere Divus Hieronymus in deserto D. Dominico Saulo Genuensi*, s.l.n.a.; Venise, après 1510 ?), ff. a. 1^v - a. 3^v et dans Pictorius, 41-5. A propos de l'editio princeps, voir Reichling, 141, et Teresa Maria Guarnaschelli - Enrichetta Valenziani, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 5 vols (Roma, 1943-72), II, 135.

⁴³ Sur les *Coryciana*, voir J. Ruysschaert, « Les péripéties inconnues de l'édition des 'Coryciana' de 1524 », *Atti del convegno di studi su Angelo Colocci, Jesi, 13-14 settembre 1969* (Città di Castello, 1972), pp. 45-60. M. Gianni Ballistreri en prépare l'édition critique.

⁴⁴ Sur Arsilli et son poème on consultera J. Ruysschaert, « Arsilli Francesco », in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, IV, 342-3.

SIGLES ET ABRÉVIATIONS

- Anth. Lat.* : *Anthologia Latina sive poesis Latinae supplementum*, edd. Franciscus Bücheler et Alexander Riese, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1895-1926; réimpression anastatique : Amsterdam, 1972).
- B : Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 1010.
- BM : *British Museum. General Catalogue of Printed Books*. Photolithographic Edition to 1955, 263 vols (London, 1959-1966).
- BN : Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Baudrier, I-XII : H. L. Baudrier - J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, 12 vols (Lyon, 1895-1921; réimpression anastatique : Paris, 1964), + Tables par Georges Tricou, revues et complétées par Jean Tricou, augmentées des additions de Henri Joly (Paris, 1965).
- Bertalot, *Antologia Abstemio* : Ludwig Bertalot, « L'antologia di epigrammi di Lorenzo Abstemio nelle tre edizioni Sonciniane », in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati IV*, Studi e Testi, 124 (Città del Vaticano, 1946), pp. 305-326.
- Bertalot, *Epitaph. Olschki* : Ludwig Bertalot, « Die älteste gedruckte lateinische Epitaphiensammlung », in *Collectanea Leo S. Olschki* (Monacis, 1921), pp. 1-28.
- Canonherius : *Illustrium epitaphiorum flores ex totius Europae praeclarissimarum civitatum et praestantissimorum poetarum monumentis* (Antverpiae, 1613).
- clm : München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, codex latinus monacensis.
- ed : Bernardinus Dardanus, *Opuscula quaedam* (s.l.n.a.; Venise, après 1510?).
- Epitaphia antiqua et recentia*, coll. P. Candidus : *Epitaphia antiqua et recentia hominum qui in s. literis celebrantur, regum item et principum, theologorum, doctorum et aliorum clarorum virorum, tum mulierum, infantium et variorum casuum etc. facta*, collecta atque digesta in libros quatuor a Pantaleone Candido Austriaco (Strasbourg, 1600).
- Gallia Christiana* : *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum Franciae vicinarum ditionum ab origine Ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis*, vol. 1-3 opera et studio Dionysii Sammarthani (1716-25); vol. 4-13 opera et studio monachorum Congregationis S. Mauri ordinis s. Benedicti (1728-85); vol. 14-16 condidit Bartholomaeus Hauréau (1856-65). 16 vols (Paris, 1715-1865).
- GW, I-VIII : *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, herausgegeben von der Kommission für die Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, I-VII : Zweite Auflage. Durchgesehene Neudruck der ersten Auflage (Stuttgart - New York, 1968); du vol. VIII ont paru jusqu'ici trois fascicules (Stuttgart - Berlin - New York, 1972-74).
- HL : *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

- Hortus epitaphiorum : Hortus epitaphiorum selectorum ou jardin d'épithaphes choisis, où se voyent les fleurs de plusieurs vers funèbres, tant anciens que nouveaux, tirez des plus fleurissantes villes de l'Europe* (Paris, 1666).
- Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII* : Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, édition publiée par René de Maulde la Clavière, Publications de la Société de l'histoire de France, 245, 250, 264, 273, 4 vols (Paris, 1889-95).
- Kristeller, I-II : *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, compiled by Paul Oskar Kristeller, 2 vols (London-Leiden, 1963-67).
- Labbe : *Thesaurus epitaphiorum veterum ac recentium selectorum ex antiquis inscriptionibus omnique scriptorum genere*, opera ac studio R. P. Philippi Labbe (Paris, 1666).
- Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii : I Diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII)* pubblicati per cura di Rinaldo Fulin, Federico Stefani, Nicolò Barozzi, Guglielmo Berchet, Marco Allegri, 59 vols (Venezia, 1879-1903).
- N : Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 8134.
- P : Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 1717.
- Pictorius : *Pictorii sacra et satyrica epigrammata* (Bâle, 1518).
- PLM : *Poetae Latini minores*, 5 vols (Leipzig, 1879-83), vol. VI : *Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum*, coll. et emend. A. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1886).
- Reichling : *Appendices ad Hainii Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum. Additiones et emendationes* edidit D. Reichling, 6 fasc. (München, 1905-1911).
- Renouard, *Imprimeurs I-II : Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*. Ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard par le service des travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris avec le concours de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 2 vols (Paris, 1964-69).
- Sannazaro, *epigr. lib. I* (Broukhusius, p. . .); *eleg. lib. I* (Broukhusius, p. . .) : *Actii Sincerii Sannazarii Patricii Neapolitani opera Latine scripta, ex secundis curis Jani Broukhusii. Accedunt Gabrielis Altilii, Danielis Cereti et fratrum Amaltheorum carmina, Vitae Sannazarianae et notae Petri Vlamingii* (Amsterdam, 1728).
- Scott : *Hildeberti Cenomannensis episcopi carmina minora*, recensuit A. Brian Scott (Leipzig, 1969).
- Swertius : *Epitaphia ioco-seria Latina, Gallica, Italica, Hispanica, Lusitanica, Belgica*, Franciscus Swertius Antwerpiensis posteritati et urbanitati collegit (Cologne, 1645).
- T : Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. G.VII.14.
- Walther : Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen*, unter Benützung der Vorarbeiten Alfons Hilkas bearbeitet von Hans Walther. 2. durchgesehene Auflage, mit Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zur 1. Auflage, Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina, I,1 (Göttingen, 1969).

I. PREMIÈRE PARTIE DU MANUSCRIT 1010

Avant d'entamer l'édition commentée de la deuxième partie du manuscrit (pp. 164-225), il nous a paru utile de publier les deux pièces liminaires de la première partie, savoir la lettre et l'épigramme du moine anonyme (ff. 1^r-3^r), de présenter les particularités textuelles remarquables qu'offre notre manuscrit pour la *Formula honestae vitae* de Martin de Braga, et de faire quelques notices sur la première partie (pp. 1-163), la collection d'épigrammes.

A. La lettre à Monseigneur N.

Reverendissimo summo in Christo patri domino suo domino N. Salutem. f. 1^r

1 Iam pridem apud me compertum est, Reverendissime presul,
dominationem tuam ita studiorum amenitate oblectari, ut una
hec virtus (ceteras enim taceo), que nostratibus rarissima est,
manifestum praebeat argumentum tue eminentis inter omnes
5 probitatis. Quod mihi magnopere laudabile videtur in te tanto presule
et hac potissimum tempestate, qua tristibus et eiectionis Camenis
nullis bonis datur in orbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
sed cum desertis Aganipes vallibus esuriens iam migret in antra
Clio. Et utinam alii nostre tempestatis pontifices bonis artibus
10 equaliter ut tu incumberent et Musas fove[ve]rent! Pullularet sane
in dies magis magisque litterarum ac virtutum seges, que pulchram
et fecundam clarissimorum hominum messem tempore opportuno
reportaret; quin immo et tota christianorum respublica se melius
consultiusque haberet, nec ita passim, ut nunc fit, vitiis decer-
15 taretur.

Quod si tuos honestissimos ac religiosissimos mores, quibus
velut clarissima presulum gemma resplendes, alii conarentur
emulari, non me hercle his ignominiosis reformationibus opus esset,
et profecto etas illa aurea omnis iusticie atque innocentie faulx
20 quasi postliminio rediens hoc tempore relucere videretur.

Sed pro dolor! in tam perturbatum devenimus seculum et in
tam depravata incidimus tempora, ut facile per hoc coniectare
possimus appropinquare eam, quam astrologi predixere immi-
nentem calamitatem. Omnes enim in hac una re consentiunt,
25 videlicet anno domini 1503 in celo magnam illam fore Iovis Satur-

- nique in Cancro coniunctionem monstruosam admodum ut volunt deformem, utpote que, quotiens contingere solet, pestiferam mortalibus cladem ac penitus perniciosam rerum humanarum confectionem protendere creditur. Ex qua quidem futura calamitate nostram effinxi *Sibilam*, ad te nunc villaniter venientem, quam eo quo pollicitus fueram die minime mittere potui, cum in ipso procinctu Reverendissimus dominus noster abbas mihi quidem admodum humanissimus et virtutum tuarum amantissimus me in alio negotio occupasset.
- 35 Ceterum, Reverendissime presul, hoc unicum post omnia precor, ut tibi persuadeas me tuum esse ubicunque humillimum servulum et naturali quadam erga te affectionis scintilla humanitatis tue semper observantissimum, postuloque ut dominatio tua reverendissima tuaque bonarum litterarum patro<cin>atio habeat me apud se commendatum.
- 40 Vale, sanctissimum Musarum instrumentum ac virtutum decus.

B. *L'élégie*

- f. 1^v O scelus, o nostre dira infortunia vite,
O nostra innumeris secla referta malis.
Cur sumus aut spacium tam longum vivimus evi,
Ut videant tantum lumina nostra nephas?
- 5 Cur non, terra, fero, si iusta, dehyscis hyatu
Etatisque huius pessima monstra vorax?
Te cruciant homines mortaliaque arma fatigant.
Nec satis est : poscunt crimina nostra deos.
Improbilas regnat, pietas calcata gemiscit
- 10 Et miserum mundum pessimus ordo regit.
Indoctus pretor legumque ignarus et excors
Corruptus precio est muneribusque malis.
Officioque timens iudex veluti ille Pilatus
Inservit regi principibusque favet.
- 15 Importunus inops censetur, nemo pupillis
Condolet his, clausa est semita iusticie;
Inque tribunali nummus pro iudice sedet,
Solut decernit iura fidemque facit.

- Imberbi regitur respublica consule, donis
20 Cecutit atque metu curia tota patrum.
Iusticiam observant melius Plutonia regna,
Prestat ubique Mynos iudicis officium.
Illic Elyseum est, sine fine voluptas,
Et sontes animas Tartarus altus habet.
25 Nos sine lege sumus, scelera impunita triumphant,
Contenta est virtus, fertur in astra nephas.
Nullus honor celo, nulla est reverentia divis,
Sacra prophanantur, premia nulla bonis.
Cuncta rapit viciū, sunt confusa omnia, mundo
30 Imperat Alecto, Thesiphonia furit.
Templa regunt pueri, turbat discordia clerum.
Spurius est presul, sanctaque munus habet.
Turpis e[st] indoctus fastigia scandit honorum,
Ereptum furtis infula sacra tegit.
35 Per phas atque nephas rubens datur ille galerus,
Traxit ab ardenti qui caritate notam.
Nunc puto sanguineus potiusque intinctus ad usus
Bellorum, satis hoc tempora nostra probant.
Arma sacerdotes ac spicula bellica tractant,
40 Et manibus sacris tela cruenta tenent.
Pontificum sedes nummis venduntur aperte,
Non secus ac medio venditur herba foro. /
Mercibus expositis venalia sancta, sed auro
Nec poterit celum nec paradisus emi.
45 Quod vetuit Christus, quod Petrus apostolus olim
Horruit, hoc palam †Sammei† cathedra facit.
Nunc Antichristi innumeri falsique prophete
Insurgunt passim, monstra verenda nimis.
In viciis cum sint devincti cuncta reformant,
50 Deformant potius, prorsus et inficiunt.
Fraudibus atque dolis animum subvertere regis
Pontificisque nova religione volunt.
Vana supersticio est, simulata mente feruntur,
Estque ementito fictus in ore deus.

f. 2^r

- 55 Utque putant, soli celestia regna merentur,
 Cum sint Phariseis moribus assimiles.
 De Christi segete lolium se tollere fingunt,
 Sed, proh summe Deus, dira venena ferunt.
 Ducunt hastatas per limina sacra cohortes,
 60 Ut spolient sanctos eiicientque viros.
 Nilque Deum veriti violentis insuper armis
 Sacrilegas mittunt in pia templa manus.
 Expellunt flentes aditis sine more ministros
 Exulibusque datur nullus in orbe locus.
 65 †Quientes† miseri hospitio prohibentur ubique
 Excipi et, o nova lex, est vetitum esse pium.
 Quid facis in celo, o Christe optime maxime? cur non
 Proicis in nostrum fulmina torta caput,
 Cum videas tua membra pati dirisque flagellis
 70 Cedi et carceribus vincula seva pati.
 Nonne vides probris ut nunc lacerantur apertis
 Ii tibi qui laudes nocte dieque canunt?
 Cernis et hec patiens vindictam in tempora differs,
 Que toto humanum puniat orbe genus?
 75 O utinam a nobis tam dira flagella diebus
 Sint procul atque alios occupet ista lues !
 Nos portenta monent, et sydera seva minantur
 Prodigisique novis dira futura canunt.
 Saturni atque Iovis coniunctio forte nephanda
 80 Ingreditur Cancrum. Dii prohibete minas! /
 f. 2^v Vidimus Avernos motasse cacumina montes
 Et cum mugitu contremuisse solum,
 Sequanicos fluctus totam exundasse per urbem,
 Vulgus ut horreret Deucalionis aquas.
 85 Monstrosos partus cornutaque pignora matres
 Vidimus enixas bicipite et facie,
 Pariseos pontes subitam fecisse ruinam
 Plurimaque undosis corpora mersa vadis,

61 violentis *correx*i ex violentis B.

62 in pia *correx*i ex impia B.

65 An Quaerentes *legendum*?

81 Cacumina : *metri et sensus causa correxi* ex cacuminum B.

- Femineis guttas peplis hesitasse cruentas
 90 E celo et miras insinuasse cruces.
 Vidimus et tonitru capitolia fracta repente
 Ictaque Romani brachia pontificis.
 Italico cursu illicitos punivit amores
 Prurigo infamis et maculosa lues.
 95 Virginibusque sacris subito cacodemone raptis,
 Horrendum stupuit Belgica terra malum.
 Impius et nostre qui sacramenta salutis
 Litantis sacris eripuit manibus;
 Estque illisa solo et pedibus contrita nephandis
 100 Hostia digna polo spesque salusque hominum.
 Atque crucifixi nuper simulachra pupugit
 Improbis et latum vulnus ymago tulit.
 Quid superest? Fuso sine causa sanguine miles
 Gaudet, et humano terra cruore madet.
 105 Perfida milicia est iniustaque, clerus avarus,
 Venalis iudex, ἀρέσκουσα Venus.
 Iam recipit vires Magmetis Syriusque propheta
 Armata invadit oppida queque manu.
 Infidi nostris Turci iam menibus instant
 110 Et de Christigenis ampla trophea ferunt.
 Quin etiam nuper France cecidere caterve,
 Perdidit et laceras naufraga turba rates.
 O Deus, instantis suntne hec manifesta ruine
 Signa, aut immense nuncia cladis eunt?
 115 Et certe incauto properant fata impia mundo
 Ἰλίας /
 Nemo tamen post hec reputat tempus prope adesse, f. 3^r
 Nullus et instantem cogitat esse diem.
 Credite! Parisie sunt hec predicta Sibille :
 120 Extremum cunctis imminet exitium.
 Dii melius vates. Utinam sint falsa! Sed illud
 Fata canunt, monstrant tempora et astra canunt.

90 insinuasse : *correx*i ex insinuasse B.

106 ἀρέσκουσα *correx*i ex ἀρεσκυσε.

116 Post Ἰλίας sequuntur aliquot verba, Grecis — ut videtur — litteris exarata, quae legi non possunt.

31-44. Ces vers rappellent les nombreux poèmes satiriques dirigés contre le pape Alexandre VI, celui-ci notamment :

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.
 Emerat ille prius, vendere iure potest.
 De vicio in vicium, de flamma crescit in ignem
 Roma, sub Hispano deperit imperio.
 Sextus Tarquinius, sextus Nero, sextus et iste,
 Semper sub sextis perdita Roma fuit.

Cf. Walther, n° 17614 et 20065. Voir aussi Vittorio Rossi, *Pasquinate di Pietro Aretino ed anonime per il conclave di Alessandro VI* (Torino-Palermo, 1891), et le compte rendu par Alessandro Luzio, paru dans *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XIX (1890), 89-103 (p. 90). Ces vers se trouvent aussi dans clm. 394, f. 161^v et 162^r. Ils ont été publiés (avec de légères variantes) dans Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, V, 95-6; dans *Pasquillorum tomi duo, quorum primo versibus ac rhythmis, altero soluta oratione conscripta quamplurima continentur, ad exhilarandum confirmandumque hoc perturbatissimo rerum statu pii lectoris animum apprime conducentia* (Eleutheropoli = Bâle, J. Oporinus, 1544), p. 24 et 81, et dans François Vinchant, *Annales de la province et du comté du Hainaut, contenant les choses les plus remarquables advenues dans cette province, depuis l'entrée de Jules César, jusqu'à la mort de l'infante Isabelle*, 6 vols (Mons, 1848-1853), V, 131. Voir aussi le n° 21 de la deuxième partie de notre manuscrit (à paraître dans le prochain volume de *HL*).

79-80. Allusion à la conjonction de deux planètes sinistres, Mars et Saturne, qui eut lieu le 25 octobre 1503. Cf. Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 281-2. Quelques astrologues de l'époque avaient présagé de grands désastres pour cette année et pour la période immédiatement postérieure. Cf. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, History of Science Society Publications, N.S. IV, 8 vols (New York, 1934-58), IV, 179. Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, I, 296, n. 2 fait état de la crainte qui avait envahi les peuples de l'Europe à l'approche de la transition du XV^e au XVI^e siècle. Dans l'attente de la calamité inévitable, on était hanté par les présages et les phénomènes célestes.

85-6. Alexander Achellini, *Observationes anatomicae* (Bologne, 1520), a noté quelques naissances particulièrement monstrueuses au cours de l'année 1503. Cf. Thorndike, *A History*, V, 47.

87. Le 25 octobre de l'année 1499, le pont Notre-Dame sur la Seine à Paris s'écroula avec les maisons qui étaient construites dessus; cf. *Le Rozier ou Epithome hystorial de France* (Paris, F. Regnault, s.d.), f. CLXII^r. Selon Molinet cet événement serait arrivé le 18 octobre 1500; cf. *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, publiées par Georges Doutrepont et Omer Jodogne, 3 vols (Bruxelles, 1935-37), II, 471. La première date est confirmée par les documents du parlement de cette époque; cf. Félix Aubert, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, 2 vols (Paris, 1894), I, 299.

90. Le chroniqueur Molinet rapporte l'apparition du signe de la croix sur les églises, les maisons, les vêtements de femme un peu partout dans le pays de Liège. Certains interprétaient ce phénomène comme un signe de réconfort et d'encouragement pour la chrétienté menacée par le Turc. Cf. *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, II, 483. B. De Troeyer, *Bio-bibliog. Franciscana Neerland. ante s. XVI*, t. I (1974), 174-5.

91-2. Allusion à la tempête qui fit rage à Rome en la fête des saints Pierre et Paul, soit le 29 juin 1500. Elle emporta le toit de la salle du palais pontifical, où Alexandre

VI était en train de donner audience. Comme par miracle le pape ne fut que légèrement blessé à la tête et à la main droite. Cf. Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, mit Benutzung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archives und vieler anderer Archive*, 22 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928-39), III, 1 (zehnte unveränderte Auflage, 1938), 539-40. Une épigramme qui traite de cet événement a été écrite par l'humaniste italien Pietro Bonomo (1458-1546) : *De casu Alexandri Sexti Pontificis Maximi*. Elle se lit dans le ms. 664 de la Bibliothèque universitaire d'Innsbruck, f. 125^r; cf. A. Zingerle, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philologie. I. De carminibus Latinis saeculi XV. et XVI ineditis*. Prolegomena scripsit, carminum delectum e cod. Oenipont. 664 et Vindobon. Palat. 3506 edidit, indicem nominum et rerum adiecit A. Z. (Innsbruck, 1880), p. xxxii. Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, I, 295-6 fait également le récit de ce fait divers sensationnel, qu'il interprète de la façon suivante (p. 296) : « Ainsi fut percuté le souverain pasteur, qui peult estre indice de la dispercion de ses brebiz ou persecution d'icelles. » Ce prodige a été également noté dans *Le Rozier... hystorial* au f. CLXIII^r.

93-4. Dans sa *Chyromantie ac physionomie anastasis cum approbatione magistri Alexandri de Achellinis* (Bologne, 1524), Bartolommeo della Rocca, surnommé Cocles, traite en détail du « morbus Gallicus », que les astrologues du temps attribuaient à la conjonction planétaire de 1494, dont l'effet néfaste fut renforcé par celles de 1492 et 1495. Cf. Thorndike, *A History*, V, 63.

95-6. En 1491 et pendant les années suivantes, quelques religieuses du monastère de Quesnoy-le-Comte furent possédées par le diable; cf. *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, II, 217-21, sous le titre : « La très dure et douloureuse oppression que firent aucuns malvais esperitz aux religieuses du Quesnoy-le-Comte ». Voir aussi P. Frédéricq, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis neerlandicae. Verzameling van stukken betreffende de pauselijke en bisschoppelijke inquisitie in de Nederlanden*, 5 vols (Gent - 's Gravenhage, 1889-1906), I, 483-6.

97-8. Le 25 août 1503, Hémond de la Fosse, étudiant parisien originaire d'Abbeville, avait arraché une hostie consacrée des mains d'un prêtre pour la jeter à terre et la fouler aux pieds; il fut brûlé comme hérétique, assisté dans son supplice par Jean Standonck. Le récit détaillé de cet événement étonnant a été enregistré par l'auteur du *Rozier... hystorial* au f. CLXIV^v, et par Jean Bouchet dans *Les Annales d'Aquitaine, faicts et gestes en sommaire des roys de France et d'Angleterre et pais de Naples et de Milan*, dont nous avons consulté l'édition de Poitiers, E. de Marnef, 1557. Ce sacrilège s'y trouve décrit au f. 187^{r+v}. Il est aussi rapporté dans les *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, II, 526-7, et dans Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 270-2. Sur cet événement un poète anonyme écrivit une élégie intitulée *Elegia funesta nepharii sceleris heretici* (Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, s.d.), et dédiée à Jean Tigier (+ 1513) à cette époque prieur, plus tard (1508) abbé du monastère de Saint-Jean à Valenciennes. Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, III, 160. Un des rares exemplaires de cet ouvrage se trouve à la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris (4^o y 3732 / Rés. 445). Dans le catalogue manuscrit de cette bibliothèque l'œuvre est attribuée à Fausto Andrelini, nous ignorons pourquoi.

107-10. Depuis le milieu du quinzième siècle l'empire Ottoman n'avait cessé d'étendre son influence dans les Balkans. En 1499, le sultan Bajazet II déclencha la guerre contre Venise, par terre et par mer. Le 29 août de cette année, Lépante se rendit et,

quelques mois plus tard, les Turcs entreprirent, par terre, un raid ravageur dans le Frioul et jusqu'aux abords de Vicence. Le pape Alexandre VI lança un appel à tous les princes chrétiens pour former une ligue, mais en vain. Aussi, le 1^{er} juin 1500, une bulle contraignait-elle toute la chrétienté à contribuer au combat contre le péril turc. Les interventions de la France et de l'Espagne se limitèrent à quelques expéditions isolées en mer Egée. Les Vénitiens, continuant à céder du terrain à l'ennemi, acceptèrent la paix en 1503.

111. Probablement allusion à la perte du territoire français dans l'Italie méridionale, perte qui devint définitive après la prise de Gaète par les Espagnols en janvier 1504.

112. En octobre 1503, les vaisseaux français qui garantissaient le ravitaillement de Salces en Roussillon et qui naviguaient sous le commandement du bâtard René de Savoie, périrent en revenant vers Marseille. Cf. Jean d'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, III, 237.

C. La « *Formula honestae vitae* » de Martin de Braga

Le traité moral sur les quatre vertus cardinales, intitulé *Formula vitae honestae* et composé par saint Martin, évêque de Braga au Portugal (6^e s.), forme la troisième pièce de nos miscellanées manuscrites. Cet opuscule, qui a connu une large diffusion au moyen âge, a été attribué à Sénèque au douzième siècle. Pétrarque a été le premier à douter de l'authenticité de cette attribution.

Ici, comme dans plusieurs autres manuscrits où le texte est attribué à Sénèque, on ne trouve pas l'épître introductive de saint Martin au roi Miro.

Dans la version de notre manuscrit diverses branches de la tradition manuscrite et imprimée sont représentées. Comme il serait peu utile de relever toutes les variantes qu'elle offre par rapport à l'édition de C. W. Barlow (1), nous retiendrons seulement les leçons les plus représentatives, c'est-à-dire celles qui ne se rencontrent pas dans les manuscrits collationnés par Barlow. Ce qui est remarquable, par ailleurs, c'est que nombre de leçons, notées par celui-ci comme des conjectures proposées par Erasme dans la deuxième édition que l'humaniste publia de la *Formula* en 1529, se rencontrent déjà dans notre manuscrit. Sans doute a-t-on à faire ici à un témoin d'une branche de la tradition manuscrite inconnue à Barlow.

Nous publions ici, dans une première liste, les leçons qui ne figurent ni dans le texte établi par Barlow ni dans son appareil critique; puis, dans

¹ Claude W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis opera omnia*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, XII (New Haven, 1950), pp. 204-50.

une deuxième liste, les leçons que Barlow pensait introduites par Erasme, mais qui se rencontrent déjà dans notre manuscrit.

Les numéros renvoient aux pages, paragraphes et lignes de l'édition Barlow.

1. *Les leçons de B non mentionnées par Barlow*

Titulus in B : Seneca Lucillo, amico suo, salutem plurimam dicit.

- p. 237 1a, l. 2. vitae : *om.* B.
 l. 3. prudentia : Barlow; sapientia : B.
 l. 4. igitur : *om.* B.
- p. 238 2, l. 7. pro te : *om.* B.
 l. 9. idem : Barlow; id : B.
 l. 10. mutes : Barlow; mittes : B.
 l. 15 et² : *om.* B.
 l. 16. -quidem : *om.* B.
 l. 17. specie : Barlow; facie : B.
 l. 18. sicut aliquotiens tristem frontem : Barlow;
 sicut frontem tristem : B.
- p. 239 l. 19. et ut fallat : Barlow; ne fallat : B.
 l. 21. propone : Barlow; compone : B.
 ll. 24-25. exitus cogitabis : Barlow; extus (*sic*) cogitabas : B.
 l. 33. nam similiter : Barlow; similiter enim : B.
 l. 35. suspecta : Barlow; suspicata : B.
- p. 240 l. 39. perdit vitam : Barlow; vitam perdit : B.
 l. 40. *post* incedit *add.* B : Qui presentia non ordinat, id totum perdit, quod est.
 l. 40. autem animo : Barlow; ante in animo tuo : B.
 l. 41. ista : Barlow; illa : B.
 l. 42. animo : Barlow; in animo : B.
 l. 43. Nam prudens : Barlow; prudens enim : B.
 l. 52. Nec altiori : Barlow; Non altiori : B.
- p. 241 l. 53. consilia tibi salutaria : Barlow; salutaria consilia : B.
 l. 54. adludit huius vitae : Barlow; illudit in te : B.
 l. 55. nec tibi dabis impetus liberos : *om.* B.
 l. 56. quo eundum sit : Barlow; quo sit eundum : B.
- 3, l. 3. tremere : Barlow; ire temere : B.
 l. 8. vindictae esse : Barlow; vindicem : B; esse : *om.* B.
 l. 9. Non : Barlow; nec : B.
- p. 242 4, l. 1. circumcide : Barlow : circumscide : B.
 artum : Barlow; actum arctum : B.
 l. 7. cruditatem : Barlow; scurrilitatem : B.
 l. 11. sapor : Barlow; sapor : B.
 l. 15. velis : Barlow; vel : B.
- p. 243 ll. 16-7. nec quod es maius quam es videri velis : Barlow; nec maior videri velis quam es : B.

- l. 17. tibi immunda : Barlow; immunda tibi : B.
 l. 28. aut superbus et clarus aut malignus : Barlow;
 superbus, clarus aut malignus : B.
 l. 30. in his : Barlow; hos : B.
 ut te nec : Barlow; ut ne gravet te : B.
 l. 31. contemnat : Barlow; condemnet : B.
 p. 244 l. 33. tui : *add. B post ioci.*
 l. 36. quam si : Barlow; quam ut : B.
 l. 38. malas : Barlow; pravas : B.
 l. 39. adulantium : Barlow; adulatorum : B.
 l. 44-5. si immerito, scito quia prodesse voluit : *om. B.*
 l. 47. neque acerbus reprehensor : *om. B.*
 l. 48. ita : *om. B;* et : *om. B.*
 p. 245 l. 51. in : *om. B.*
 l. 52. descendas : Barlow; commoveas : B.
 l. 53. ideo : *om. B.*
 quia latent : Barlow; imoque latent : B.
 ll. 56-7. superbiendo non : Barlow; non superbiendo : B.
 l. 64. subripiunt : Barlow; surrepserunt : B.
 l. 66. et : *add. B ante vanae.*
 p. 246 l. 71. impertiri : Barlow; impartiri : B.
 5, l. 1. virtus : Barlow; opus : B.
 l. 2. multorum : *om. B.*
 l. 3. animi nostri : *add. B post nisi; est : add. B post sed.*
 l. 5. dictaverit : Barlow; dictaverint : B.
 ll. 5-6. hanc sectari : Barlow; sectari iusticiam : B.
 l. 6. time prius deum et ama deum, ut : Barlow; tunc prius deum
 ama, ut : B.
 l. 7. si illum in hoc : Barlow; si in hoc ipsum : B.
 l. 8. nulli nocere : Barlow; nemini nocere : B.
 l. 11. abstinentia alieni : Barlow; abstinentia mali alieni : B.
 ll. 11-2. Et ad maiora provehere, ut etiam ab aliis ablata restituas :
 Barlow; ut non ad maiora provocaris et ablata aliis restituas :
 B.
 p. 247 l. 13. ne aliis timendi sint : Barlow; ne alii timenda sint : B.
 l. 17. etiam non invocanti testis est : Barlow; et non testis sit : B.
 l. 18. Quod etsi aliquando coarctis : Barlow; Quasi aliquando
 contigerit : B.
 l. 19. non ad falsi sed ad veri : Barlow; non ad simile sed ad veri :
 B.
 l. 22. ita alta illi : Barlow; illi ita apta : B.
 l. 23. Haec ergo : Barlow; hoc ergo : B.
 l. 24. cursus : Barlow; versus : B.
 6, l. 2. rectitudinis earum : Barlow; earum rectitudinis : B.
 ll. 4-5. callidus et pavendi acuminis eris : Barlow; callidus et
 pavidus cum miseris eris : B.
 p. 248 ll. 7-8. semper aliquid convincens : Barlow; aliquid semper
 commiscens : B.

1. 9. impingas admissi : Barlow; admissi impinguas : B.
 1. 11. malus homo vocaberis : Barlow; vocaberis malus homo : B.
 1. 12. immensurata perducet : Barlow; immensurata te producet : B.
- 7, 1. 4. qui : Barlow; cum : B.
1. 7. dereliquit : Barlow; reliquit : B.
1. 8. nec timidum esse : Barlow; nec esse timidum : B.
- p. 249 8, 1. 4. ut nec : Barlow; ut ne : B.
- 9, 1. 2. ductu : Barlow; ducta : B.
1. 3. de magnis : Barlow; ad magius : B.
1. 4. corrigendi : Barlow; corrigendis : B.
- licentiam peccandi : Barlow; licentia penitendi : B.
1. 5. tibi : *add.* B *ante* proterve.
1. 9. severiori : Barlow; seniori : B.
- 10, 1. 1. vitam suam ad utilitatem : Barlow; ad utilitatem vitam suam : B.
1. 1. propriam : Barlow; proprium : B.
- p. 250 1. 6. sui : *add.* B *ante* ipse.
1. 7. contemnat : Barlow; pugniat : B.
-
2. *Leçons attribuées à Erasme qui se rencontrent déjà dans B.*
- p. 238 2, 1. 4. non : *om.* Er, B.
1. 15. et¹ : *om.* Er, B.
- p. 239 1. 34. quam : Barlow; ut : Er, B.
- p. 240 1. 47. consilia imperitorum : Barlow; Consilium peritorum : Er, B.
1. 51. potest sciri : Barlow; potes scire : Er, B.
- p. 242 4, 1. 12. ita : *om.* Er, B.
1. 14. te festina *add.* Er, B *ante* reducere (Barlow : abducere).
- p. 243 1. 16. affingas : Barlow; ascribas : Er, B.
11. 32-3. sine dente sint : Barlow; sint sine dente : Er, B.
- p. 244 1. 41. hunc properendi ad te aditum : Barlow; ad tuam promerendam per hanc : Er, B.
11. 45-6. blanda verba timebis : Barlow; blanda timebis verba : Er, B.
- p. 245 1. 52. et corporis motus : Barlow; motus corporisque : Er; motus-que corporis : B.
1. 55. te habere : Barlow; habere te : Er, B.
- p. 247 5, 1. 23. Dum alii a malis vincuntur, ab illo mala : Barlow; Ut dum alii vincantur a malis, vincantur ab illo mala : Er, B.
1. 25. haec : *post* prospicies *add.* Er, B.
- 6, 1. 6. minutus : Barlow; timidus : Er, B.
- p. 249 8, 1. 3. pudebit integritas : Barlow; vilis putabitur integritas : Er, B.
- 9, 1. 4. neque : *post* sed *add.* Er, B.
1. 5. permittes : Barlow; permittas : Er, B.
- rursus : Barlow; rursus : Er, B.
1. 6. nimiae rigiditatis asperitate : Barlow; nimia rigiditate et asperitate : Er, B.

- 10, l. 5. adsistens : Barlow; insistens : Er, B.
 l. 7. contemnat : Barlow; puniat : Er; pugniat : B.

D. *La collection d'épithaphes.*

Dès le début du quinzième siècle les textes épigraphiques latins furent collectionnés et hautement appréciés par les humanistes, tant pour leur valeur historique et philologique que, tout simplement, parce qu'ils faisaient partie de l'héritage antique, tellement vénéré alors ¹. Nombre de manuscrits datant de cette époque témoignent et résultent de cet intérêt nouveau et fort vif. La collection contenue dans notre manuscrit y est précédée (f. 6^v) d'un emblème symbolisant le triomphe de la mort : un sablier surmonté d'une tête de mort et d'une balance, le tout porté par un cercueil avec, à côté, des os croisés en forme de X. Le dessin est commenté par la devise : « Tendimus huc omnes ». En dessous se lit le sonnet suivant :

Col tempo animal silvagio e strano
 Si doma²e cambia la superba voglia.
 Col tempo cade la verdigiane foglia ³
 A li arboseli che adorna monte e piano.
 Col tempo ogni suave viso humano
 Senza rimedio di belta si [se] spoglia.
 Col tempo morte convien che dissoglia
 Reddendo el corpe a la sua matre insano.
 Col tempo si se smorza ogni gran focho
 Ogni crudel voler diventa pio.
 Col tempo si [se] rincresse ogni bel giocho.
 Col tempo in se si muta ogni desio
 Ogni molto sperar diventa pocho.
 Col tempo merito ha chi serve Dio.

Suit alors, aux pages 1-163, la collection d'inscriptions. Elle est intitulée *Ex Monumentis Romanae Urbis et aliorum locorum sumpta*, et distribuée sous diverses rubriques selon l'origine géographique des textes recueillis.

¹ Sur ce nouvel essor de l'épigraphie latine, voir F. Saxl, « The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV (1940-41), 19-46; Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 145-66.

² doma : *correxī ex domo* B.

³ Ce vers est trop long d'une syllabe.

Une première section (pp. 1-91) contient les inscriptions provenant de Rome, une seconde (pp. 92-136) est occupée par les *Monumenta per Italiam collecta*, la dernière (pp. 137-57) par les *Monumenta extra Italiam collecta*, c'est-à-dire par des inscriptions découvertes en Espagne, en Grèce, en Suisse, à Vienne et à Buda; une section spéciale (pp. 149-57) est réservée à Lyon.

Dans la première section, quelques inscriptions, concentrées aux pp. 84-91, ont des prétentions littéraires. Deux d'entre elles ont connu une large diffusion :

1) l'épithaphe (pp. 84-5) intitulée : *Claudiae Homoneae in marmorea urna*;

inc. Tu qui secreta procedis mente parumper

fin. Id tibi victuro proroget ulterius.

Cf. CIL VI, 2, 12652 et 9449; Walther, 19512 et 13690; Bertalot, *Antologia Abstemio*, pp. 313-4, n° 29. et *Epitaph. Olschki*, p. 19, n° 48, qui cite nombre de miscellanées humanistes dans lesquelles figurent ce qu'il appelle « diese Perle epigraphischer Dichtung ». Nous pouvons y ajouter le ms. Ashmole, f. 125^{r+v} (cité par Saxl, *The Classical Inscription*), clm 394, ff. 84^v-85^r, et ff. 197^v-198^v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. misc. c. 62, f. 123^r et ms. lat. misc. d. 85, f. 124^v.

2) L'épithaphe (p. 91) pour Elpe, l'épouse de Boèce, sous le titre : *Epitaphium Elpes Boetii coniugis*;

inc. Elpes dicta fui, sicalae regionis alumna

fin. Hec iterum cupiat iungere membra cinis.

Cf. Walther, 5352 et 7695 (début légèrement différent). Aux sources citées par cet auteur on ajoutera le ms. Ashmole, f. 120^r (cité par Saxl, p. 43); clm 394, f. 84^{r+v} et f. 179^r; Oxford, Bodl., ms. lat. misc. c. 62, f. 31^v, et ms. lat. misc. d. 85, f. 120^r.

La première partie du manuscrit se termine (pp. 157-63) par un florilège de citations relatives à Lyon et empruntées à des auteurs antiques : à une traduction latine de Strabon, 4, 3, 2 (pp. 157-9); à Sénèque, *epist.* 91, 1 et Suétone, *Cal.* 20 (p. 159) et *Cal.* 8, 1 (p. 160); à Ptolémée, *Geographia*, 2, 17; à Juvénal, 1, 43-4; à Eusèbe (*HIER. chron. a. Abr.* 1992) et à Tacite, *hist.* 1, 64-6 (pp. 161-3).

J. IJSEWIJN and D. F. S. THOMSON

THE LATIN POEMS OF JACOBUS FOLLISIUS
OR JAMES FOULLIS OF EDINBURGH*

In his article on "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland" John Durkan¹ for the first time² drew the attention of the scholarly world to the Latin poems of James Foullis of Colinton near Edinburgh (ca. 1485-1549), one of the very first humanist poets of Scottish extraction and certainly the most important before George Buchanan. A few years later one of the authors of this new edition devoted a page of his article on "The Latin Epigram in Scotland : The Sixteenth Century" to a short evaluation of Foullis's poetry.³

For several reasons Foullis's poems deserve to be better known and more readily accessible. As a matter of fact, they shed light on Foullis's student years in Paris and Orleans, recall important or sombre events of Scottish history and, above all, are the prelude to that rich flowering of Neo-Latin Scottish poetry⁴, which culminates in the work of Buchanan

* Modern scholars usually write the name Foulis, but in *Cod. Vatic. Reg. Lat.* 405 f. 4, which seems to be his autograph, the poet twice signs his name Foullis.

¹ *Innes Review*, IV (1953), 3-24. See pp. 7-8.

² The article in *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, 510 only describes his later career from 1519 onwards. Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae. A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925* (New York, 1940; reprint 1966) merely lists the *Calamitose pestis elega deploratio* in the chronological appendix to his book (p. 346) but does not take it into account where he discusses Scottish writers. There is no mention either in the bibliography of W. Forbes Leith, *Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the XVIth century* (Glasgow, 1915).

³ *Phoenix*, 11 (Toronto, 1957), 63-78 (D. F. S. Thomson); See also his "Erasmus as a Poet in the Context of Northern Humanism", in *Nationale Erasmus-Herdenking. Handelingen* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1970), pp. 186-210 (p. 191).

⁴ L. Bradner, o.c., especially chapters V (*Scottish Writers Before 1603*) and VI (*Scots in the Seventeenth Century*) and the Supplemental List, *The Library*, Vth Series, XXII (1967), 93-103; J. W. L. Adams, "Scottish Neo-Latin Poetry", in *Scottish Poetry*, edited by J. Kinsley (London, 1955), chapter III. The same author read a paper on this subject at the second international congress of neo-Latin studies, Amsterdam 1973.

and can boast of other valuable poets such as Robert Aytoun ⁵, John Leech (Leochaeus), Arthur Johnston and quite a few more ⁶.

Our purpose in this contribution is to provide students of Neo-Latin literature with a reliable, complete and annotated edition of Foullis's Latin poetry. We have divided it into two parts, viz. (1) the poems collected by Foullis himself in a volume printed in Paris, without date, by Gilles de Gourmont, and (2) scattered pieces.

*

The slim volume printed in Paris does not bear a real title. On the first page we read what follows :

Jacobi follisii Edinburgensis calamitose
pestis Elegia deploratio.
Eiusdem ad divam Margaritam reginam
sapphicum carmen.
De mercatorum facilitate aeclepiadeum (*Sic!*) itê
et alia quedam carmina.

(WOODCUT)

Venale inuenitur hoc opusculum apud Egidium
gourmôtium e regione collegij cameracêsis.

So far we have located five copies of the Paris edition : two in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Rés. pYc 1257 and 1300), one in London (B.L. 11405.aaa.1), one in Cambridge, Trinity College, and one in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland (Hall. 197.d). This last copy, according to a date-stamp on the back side of the title-page, came to the library on 1 Dec. 1952. It bears a second stamp underneath the first one : "Lauriston Castle Library Accession".

The library catalogues generally assign the book to the year 1510(?). J. Durkan asserts that it was printed "in 1511 probably" but in our opinion some indications in the book point to the first part of 1512

⁵ I. D. McFarlane, "George Buchanan's Latin Poems from Script to Print : a Preliminary Survey", *The Library*, Vth Series, XXIV (1969), 277-332; Id., "Notes on the Composition and Reception of George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases", *Forum of Modern Language Studies*, 7 (1971), 319-360. — Sir Robert Ayton, *The English and Latin Poems*. Edited by Ch. B. Gullans (Edinburgh-London, 1963).

⁶ See among recent scholarship : L. M. Kaiser, "John Beveridge : Latin Poet of two worlds", *Classical Journal*, 58 (1963), 215-225; J. K. Cameron, "A St. Andrews Manuscript of Poems by John Johnston (ca. 1565-1611)", *Aberdeen University Review*, 39 (1962), 230-232; D. Baker-Smith, "Florence Wilson", *The Bibliothek*, 4 (1963-66), 228-229.

as a more likely date. As a matter of fact, the prose preface directed to Alexander Stewart begins with the statement : "*Anno iam perlapso, ... qui nos a Parisiensi lycaeō sacratissimarum legum gratia Aureliam contulimus...*" If, therefore, Foullis went to Orleans in December 1510, as is stated by J. Durkan, this line cannot have been written before the very end of 1511. In the same preface Foullis gives a date for a terrible plague, which in his youth has devastated Edinburgh : "*altero nunc anno, si recte memini, a duodecimo*". The meaning of this rather peculiar expression could be : "about two years before the year (15)12", viz. the year in which he is writing. Otherwise we do not understand either the sense nor the reason of the use of "*duodecimo*". Another argument may be found in poem VI addressed to Remaclus Arduenna and most probably written in January 1512. Finally, the fact that the *Carmen elegum* written by Foullis on his becoming procurator of the Scots nation at Orleans in July 1512 is no longer included in the book may serve as an indication a date *ante quem*.

In our edition, based on the collation of one of the Paris volumes (n° 1257), and the Cambridge and Edinburgh volumes — which proved to be identical — we have respected the rather inconsistent orthography of Foullis (or of his printer) but have corrected the obvious printing errors, part of which were already notified by the poet himself at the end of his book. Wherever it was unclear whether the printer committed an error or the poet preferred an uncommon yet possible form — e.g. an accusative *sonus* instead of *sonos* — we did not venture a correction.

As far as possible we have followed the original punctuation, only modernising it by changing : to , and ! to ? and adding a few commas or semicolons, where they could be a help to a better understanding of the text. Foullis sometimes uses an oblique stroke / to mark a very slight comma. In most of the cases we did not feel it necessary to retain them in our text.

*

The second part of our edition collects some scattered verses, not all of which can be attributed to Foullis with complete certainty. They are :

1. Verses printed in the work of Robert Caubraith (= Galbraith), another Scotsman, who was Regent or director of studies in the Collège de Coqueret in Paris. His work was called *Quadrupertitum in oppositiones, conversiones, hypotheticas et modales magistri Roberti Caubraith omnem ferme difficultatem dialecticam enodans, diligenter recognitum et labecula tersum*, clearly intended also for use by students in the Artes.

There are two editions, a careful and complete description of which is to be found in *Imprimeurs et Libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*. Ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard, t. II (Paris, 1969), p. 68 n° 121 and p. 145 n° 316.

The first edition was published by Badius and Grandjone: "In Aedibus Ascensianis et Iohannes Grandisiunci". The date is on the last page (S8), as follows: "Ex officina Ascensiana ad Nonas Ianuarias MDX, pro calculo Romano", i.e. 6 January 1510. On the verso of the title-page is printed a dedicatory letter: "Litteratissimo & utroque iure consultissimo Iacobo Henrisoñ. serenissi/mi scotorũ regis consuli capitalium atque legum quaestori integerrimo Robertus Caubraith itidem Scotus salutem". This letter bears the date: Paris, Collège de Coqueret, "4 Idus Oct. 1509" or 12 October 1509. Next follows the first piece of verse by Foullis, viz. the epigram *In Lividum*.

On page R6^v two other poems of Foullis are printed, the first to Thomas Bellenden, a student of Caubraith, and the second to George Henrison, also a student and possibly a son of James Henrison, to whom the whole book is dedicated. This last epigram, an acrostich, reappears in Foullis's own volume of Latin verse, which was dedicated to Alexander Stewart and James Henrison.

On the very last page of Caubraith's book is a letter by a certain Petrus Hauston Scotus, dated from the college "pridie Non. Ian. 1509", i.e. 5 January 1510 (new style). Copies of the volume are kept in the British Library, the Bodleian Library in Oxford and elsewhere.

The second edition was published "Ex officina Ascensiana rursus ad Nonas Octobres M.D. XVI". It repeats the same contents. There are copies in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) and elsewhere.

2. An Elegy, written at Orleans, 1512, on his inauguration as procurator of the Scottish Nation there. It was edited by John Kilpatrick in *Miscellany of the Scottish Historical Society*, II (1904), 83 and 102.

The original, which seems to be an autograph, is contained in the *Liber Nationis Scociae*, Vatican ms. Regin. 405 f. 4^r, from which a new transcription has been made by D. Thomson and J. Durkan.

3. A *Strena* printed by Thomas Davidson, the royal printer in Edinburgh, on the occasion of the accession of James V. Prof. Thomson made a transcription of the British Library copy.

The poem bears neither date (1528 ?) nor name of the author. If it was written by Foullis, it would prove that he did not forget his knowledge of the art of Latin poetry when he was back in Edinburgh. These

verses even leave an impression of greater smoothness than most of the poems in his Paris volume.

See on this printing also *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, p. 38, where the date 1525 given in the British Library Catalogue is judged too early and 1538 ("Edmond's guess") is adopted.

4. Three epigrams found in *The New Actis & Constitutionis of Parliament maid be the rycht excellent prince James the Fift Kyng of Scottis. 1540*, published in 1541. See *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, p. 41.

These verses also are anonymous but the Clerk Register's certificate is signed by "Jacobus Foullis".

Finally we wish to thank Professor D. Hay, Professor G. Donaldson, Prof. P. Sharratt and Mr. J. Durkan for their interest and help.

A. *Poems edited in Paris, 1512 (?)*

a) PREFACE

Generosissimo Domino Alexandro Steuart, Divi Andreae archipraesuli et totius Scotiae primati, Iacobus Follisius Edinburgensis S.D.P.

1. Anno iam perlapso, Primas archipraesul reverendissime, qui nos a Parisiensi lycaeō sacratissimarum legum gratia Aureliam contulimus, importuna pestis studiosorum coetui, sic omnium pridem capitibus insultavit, ut ne oves quidem a lupo longius latiusque diffugere putares. Tam incerto mortis genere vitam obire metuunt homines. 2. Quamobrem, ne *ulla dies* (ut in proverbio est) *sine linea* transiret, decrevi iucundo aliquo mecum exercitio oblectari et infestas animi trepidationes impedire.

3. Paulisper mihi haesitabundo suppetebat ut bonam altero nunc anno, si recte memini, a duodecimo patriae partem pestilentia crudelissimo hyatu obsorbuerat foedaveratque. Quapropter illi, natura duce, compassus, volui aliquam (quantulacumque est) pietatis nostrae operam impendere. Qua, tametsi eius imperium divitiis nequaquam maioribus prorogetur, verumtamen posteritatis memoriae non leves maiorum calamitates commendantur, si modo innumerabili oblatrantium strepitu vacare poterit. 4. Sed eos, quamquam innumeros, tanto minoris facio, quod unicum te adeptus sum, omnium in quibus ulla generositatis nota elucescat longe nobilissimum; cui et opusculum hoc, tanquam deo (si id modo dicere liceat) in terris praesenti voverem, quemve praecoci huic pomo immaturae adhuc arboris colligendo praeficerem; quo tutore,

quis unquam invideat? 5. Sane ut Munusculum hoc tenuissimum, ita minime genuinum edaculus exerere audeat, cum tanto oblatum archipraesuli et totius Scotiae primati meritissimo, tum maximo natalium splendore clarissimo; quas si referro (*sic!*) singulas, e nullo fere (christianae saltem pietatis) loco, regem tuae sanctitati speciali nodo sanguinis devinctum non afferrem. 6. "Nimis ergo", inquiet aliquis, "audacule tibi *frontem perfricuisti*? Quod obscurus adhuc nomine et vix quintae classis accensus, virum primae classis facile principem compellas". 7. Sed istud tuae clementiae eo mitius acceptum iri speraverim, quod aliquid non desidia, non socordis animi prae me feram. Cui accedit, quod ita animum tibi omni scientiarum genere proluisti ut, quanto sanguinis illustratione tuae sit dignitatis reverentia sublimior, tanto ingenii cultu innata vis illa nobilitatis est perfectior. 8. Iccirco, ut Ovidii verbis utar,

Pagina iudicium docti subitura movetur

Principis, ut Clario missa legenda deo.

9. Porro et alia suffragatur ratio. Nam si communem pro virili nostra calamitatem descripsimus, quem potius, qui defendat *parma* non *inglorius alba*, propugnatorem elegero, quam commune omnium tutelare praesidium, qualem te profitentur, venerantur, adorant? 10. Verum enimvero ne iis quidem satisfacere videmur, qui obiciantur quam plurima. Sed parcant, quaeso, tuo saltem hic nomine inspecto, sub quo nihil invidiae, nihil iniuriarum, nihil denique impatientis animi latentibus offere possit. 11. Non enim vehimur ad hanc nostri carminis emissionem ostentabundo arrogantiae vento, sed ut sequacibus maiorum exemplo nonnulla patriae calamitatis vestigia remanerent. Quae etsi uberiore vena deduci poterat, non nihil tamen tenuitate operis delectabor, si tuam id sanctitatem pro aetatis nostrae captu excusatum ire accepero.

12. In quo si doctior quidpiam non emendatiore lima expolitur offenderit, in illo non severiore censura, sed amico castigantis officio fungatur; ut Apellis illius Atheniensis exemplo, qui vulgi praetereuntis iudicium post tabellam in pergula expositam latitans audiret, quae in hoc minus (ut dicitur) *adamussim* dicta sunt, in aliis pensiculatus emendem.

13. Scio praeterea multorum non defore rumusculos, quibus me teme-

5 ... e nulla fere ... loco, P.

13 defore munusculos, P.

ritatis arguent, si quidem, vix acto in Parisiorum Lutetia triennio, munus hoc scribendi carminis in lucemque emittendi ausus sum obire.

14. At non tam moveor ipsorum sententia, quam ut pertenui hoc libello neque satis (ut aiunt) ursino more elaborato Natalicii soli adolescentes a trito vulgarium passu ad politiorum litterarum commercia invitem.

15. Accipies ergo, pastor vigilantissime, versiculos hosce meos, paucis admodum poetarum pigmentis honestatos : sub tuae tamen vestis ora humillime convolantes ditescere patiaris!

b) DEDICATION

Consultissimo viro Iacobo Henrison, serenissimi
Scotorum regis Iacobi quarti capitalium rerum quaestori,
tetrastichum.

Dum licet, et caelo miti spes ulla colonis,
Omnia continuo rura labore sonant.
Sic mihi si faveas, studii pars maxima nostri,
Dulcis erit sudor; tempore grana leges.

c) POEMS

I

Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis
Calamitose pestis Elegia deploratio.

- 1 Lurida pestiferi repetam contagia leti
Aptaque disparibus fata sinistra modis.
Tristis Edinburgi miseras lachrimabitur edes
Nenia; dic elegos, mesta Thalia, tuos.
- 5 Sume coloratam ter nigro flumine vestem,
Spretaque sit forme sedula cura tue.
Ingentem facies prodat demissa dolorem;
Rorida suffusus diffluet unda genis.
Aure tenus fatum mihi lamentabile pandas,
- 10 Quod tulit irato numine terra parens.

titulus tetrastici : tetrastichum, P.

V. 1 conntagia, P (*correctum in erratis*)

V. 2 dispatibus, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 8 genus, P (*corr. in erratis*)

- Cana pruinosis frigebat bruma capillis;
 Flumina marmoreo diriguere gelu.
 Iam glacie obstructam gestabat Aquarius urnam,
 Terraque Sithonias induit alba nives.
 15 Blandior arridens vultu Fortuna sereno
 Subvexit leto Scotica regna gradu;
 Subridens tacite placidis illusit ocellis,
 Versato elatos truserit axe viros.
 Irruerit manibus Mors predabunda cruentis,
 20 Ceu lupus imbellem, quum petit ore, gregem.
 Spicula mille, quibus vitales eripit auras,
 Liquerat, arrepto, quo magis ulta ferit.
 Hoc unum longa steterat rubigine scabrum,
 Lerneo e cunctis sepius amne madens.
 25 Vibratum quocunque volat; terit intima ferro
 Membra venenato, vastat et ossa lue.
 Fama statim volucris cupidus discurrit ad aures;
 Compita pestifero murmure cuncta sonant.
 Traditur insultans mortis genus esse nephandum :
 30 Securus tali nullus ab hoste manet;
 Livida cui facies pallet, riget ulcere multo,
 Polluit et maculis proxima queque suis.
 Aucta magis vulgo sensim contagio crescit,
 Occupat et trepidos Fama timore sinus.
 35 Denique pestiferum quemcumque notaverit ulcus,
 Ut cibus Harpeyio sordidus ungue, iacet.
 Rustica iam passim mortale tuguria telum
 Prostravit, longo non habitanda die.
 Prima velut pateant inimicis preda cathervis,
 40 Quas cingunt luteas menia nulla domus.
 Sic prius insiliit rurales pestis in agros,
 Hei post urbanum depopulata decus.

f. Aiii^v

Quid faciam? Quo perget opus? Revocare dolores
 Indignum, et lachrimas ora ciere novas;

V. 11 Cava, P (*corr. in erratis*)V. 16 Scotia, P (*corr. in erratis*)V. 20 quam, P (*corr. in erratis*)

- 45 Quid suppressa memor bisenos fata per annos,
 Horrende repeto tela cruenta necis.
 Conditio siquidem est hominum deterrima, que non
 Fellea gustando dulcia semper amat
- f. Aiiii^r Si funesta fleam, iuvenis que tempora vidi,
 50 Fuderit ut vitam plurima turba suam,
 Castior eternis ponet stirps orgia divis,
 Et sciet iratum fulmen habere Iovem.
 Quin etiam exemplis patrum solertia nascens
 Firma magis sobolum pectora sepe facit.
- 55 Sed ruit in cecas fragilis natura tenebras,
 Nullaque sublato lumine clara videt.
 Nil sua preteritis moderatur frena periclis;
 Omnia, ceu veniunt, stulta iuventa facit.
 Et licet expertis novit resipiscere damnis,
 60 Effera per solitas labitur ipsa vias.
 Hunc lege, qui dura es tantum cervice, libellum
 Et condas animo tristia fata tuo!
 Penelopen potior non movit causa querentem,
 Funderet ut lento flumina larga viro,
- 65 Nullaque confectis Nyobem magis ardua natis,
 Pryamide Phrygias nulla iacente nurus,
 Quam te, quum memores nostro infestissima regno
 Sidera, ut infaustis seviit ira polis;
 Et quamquam iubeant fraterni vincula iuris
- 70 Equali eventum carmine flere parem,
 Plus tamen in propriis damnum est miserabile rebus,
 Dulcior ut noto pectore surgit amor.
- f. Aiiii^v Quis victos taceat Fabios Veientibus arvis,
 Et nullo claros tollit honore viros?
- 75 Quisve tacet Gallis eversam incursibus Urbem,
 Et canit exilis vilia damna loci?
 O, quantum facinus pena maiore luendum est,
 Quam dedignanti quilibet ore sput!
- 80 Quod fuerit procures ausum temerare potentes,
 Quorum precipuo fama nitore viget!

V. 63 patior, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 69 inheant, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 75 Quisne, P (*corr. in erratis*)

Ut fuit Ausonium semper miserabile damnum,
Sic magis hac Scoto nulla ruina solo.

- Est magna Oceani gemino clarissima sceptro
Insula; gens duplex, utraque Marte frequens :
85 Altera littoribus proprior iacet Anglica Gallis;
A Bruto (ut fama est) dicta Britanna fuit.
Hanc ubi preteriens pelagus circumspicit altum
Navita, pars longe dextera littus habet;
Leva videt pluvio fluctus agitantur ut Austro,
90 Volvitur ut tumide spumea vallis aque.
Pellicis at postquam metuentis sidera Thetim
Tangere bis facilem clara dedere viam,
Iam primum apparet Scotis penitissima tellus,
Quam tenet amote regia dextra plage.
95 Mox vada velivoli penetrans candentia Forthe
Anchoreo fundat navita dente rates.
Tum celo gaudens herentia culmina cernit,
Tectaque dinumerat patria quisque manu.
Clamat : "Edinburgi leti salvete Penates,
100 Et reduci vectos sumite nave viros!"
Sed nimis hec iam iam vox importuna veniret!
Vipereo tota est felle petita salus.
Que magis indigno vox est emissa cachinno!
Quamque hylari oppressis gaudia fronte iubet.
105 Oppugnat miserum pestis rabiosa popellum,
Et quatit assiduo pallida corda metu.
Sese consilio referunt meliore tuendos,
Sed quis suprema salvus ab hoste manet?
Finitimis prohibere iubent commercia; curis
110 Iis quoque se tutos posse manere putant.
Additur hinc passim clausis custodia portis;
Nam timor haud segnis cuncta magister agit.

f. Bir

V. 86 Britannia, P (*corr. in erratis*)V. 93 penitissima, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 96 fundar, P.

V. 97 Tu, P (*corr. in erratis*)V. 103 nox, P (*corr. in erratis*)

- Mortifera extimulant resides calcaria mentes;
 Provida sepe facit pectora stulta pavor.
 115 At nimium faciles, ulla qui creditis arte
 Commoti placitis ponere frena dei,
 Leserit ut sacras omisso tramite leges,
 Natura in cunctum vita recurva scelus!
 Sera licet claudo moveat vestigia gressu,
 120 Non levis ipsa tamen pena venire solet.
- f. Bi^v Lampada iam sensit Phebeam portitor Helles,
 Gramineum exhilarat gloria verna solum.
 Tertia lux oritur passo celeberrima Christo,
 Et Tytan nitido letior ore micat.
 125 Hostia libatur, victo cacodemone, pinguis;
 Victrici occumbit victima digna Iovi.
 Relligio melioris habet mundissima secte,
 Festa quidem typico singula more facit :
 Verbigene ornatur surgentis rite sepulchrum,
 130 Et circum tremulo fundimus ore preces.
 Leta dies agitur, redivivaque pocula cunctos
 Exultant, nivei pascit et umbra cibi.
 Gaudet inaccessu lucis splendore corusco,
 Pro merito astrigeris turba relata polis.
 135 Squallent continuis veterum delubra ruinis;
 Falsorum merent agmina spreta deūm.
 Non Salii armigero pulsant ancilia Marti,
 Thyas et Ogigio non furit icta deo.
 Symbola non audit Tarpeie Iuppiter arcis,
 140 Nec colit Icariam nunc sua Iuno Samum.
 Flava Ceres stipulas inter sua numina densas
 Perdit; sunt Paphie diruta templa dee.
 Nunc languet Ianus, languet Pathareus Apollo,
 Lothidis haud asinum turpis amator agit.
 f. Bii^r 145 Vana ruunt commenta, fides sua robora sumit.
 Concedunt luci nubila prisca nove.

V. 129 Verbigine, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 131 redivinaque, P.

V. 142 Predit, P.

Nunc latria venit, meliori digna lapillo,
Paschalis toto dicitur orbe dies.

- Nox ubi tetrificis terram perfuderit umbris,
150 Scanderit et niveas humida luna rotas,
Virgineam testata fidem fax unica lucet.
Sancta sed horrendum teda patravit opus :
Flagrarunt noctu temerata altaria flammis,
Qua tegit abstrusum pendula testa Deum.
155 Dimovit tellure chaos Venus aurea; celum
Promicat, alipedes Delius urget equos.
Hora soporatos fani consueta ministros
Admonet officium quemque subire suum.
Primus adest templi custos valvasque repandit;
160 Conspicit audaces urere sacra rogos.
Confestim attonito gelidus perlabitur ossa
Sanguis, et amenti spiritus omnis abit.
Contremit ac folium Borea stridente rotatum,
Colla vel ensifera percutienda manu;
165 Et veluti, rapidas fugiens quum nauta per undas,
Impendet scopulis quassa carina feris,
Stat trepidus secumque petit : "mea perdita vita!
Ah! perit ingenio tradita cura meo!"
Bacchati variis animi sic motibus heret :
170 Visa subest oculis furca tremenda suis.
Legibus aufugiens tuti se munit asyli;
Que profugo culpe pena parata fuit,
Non te dira magis propria torquebat ab arte
Terribili clausum ventre, Perille, bovis!
175 Durior Hyppolitum seve non ira noverce :
Acribus innocuum dilaniavit equis!

f. Bii^v

- Alta quies solem spectat, lux ipsa diurno
Suspendit resides festa labore manus.
Fusa cient non era sonum. Miratur! Hyaccho
180 Clavigeri hesterno corda madere putant.

V. 177 spectar, P.

V. 179 sonnm, P.

- Ille crucis subiens sancte penetralia fugit;
 Aurea maiores pertulit ara rogos.
 Pars labat in cineres celate magna tabelle;
 Stabat Apellea picta tabella manu.
 185 Hystoriam varia monstrabat imagine sacram,
 Que fuit ingenio sculpta, Lysippe, tuo.
 Hec nisi iam festis stabat reseranda diebus;
 Res aliqua a precio dignior esse solet.
 Aliger hic Marie gaudens paranimphus ad ora
 190 Virginis, etherei iussa Tonantis agit.
 Visitat hic sterilem virgo fecunda parentem,
 Cognatasque levant mutua verba manus.
 f. Biii^r Hic sua virgineis lactantia pectora mammis
 Pabula predulci compremittit ore puer.
 195 Denique progressum totum crescentis Iesu,
 Utque fuit noto traditus hoste, tenet.
 Hic super inducto pueri (quod splendet) auro
 Membra notant, sensim lusibus apta suis.
 Nocturnas patitur tabule cultura favillas;
 200 Has patitur capuli, Christe, figura tui.

 Christe, novas auge conferque in carmina vires!
 Est nimis ingenii tarda carina mei.
 Excute maiores segni sub vertice sensus,
 Affluat et dextre copia grata tue.
 205 Tu largitor opis, celsum moderaris Olimpum,
 Cui servit geminis machina versa polis.
 Omnia, queque patent, certa tu lege gubernas.
 Fata movent operas indice iussa tuo.
 Quid fatale, refer (verbis audacia cessat),
 210 Protendit calidis ara relapsa focis.
 An redeunt, Egipte, tuum populata tyrannum
 Tempora, quis tota sulphur ab arce pluit?
 Delphica nunc sileat somnis Priameia coniunx,
 Pergama qua ruerent, se peperisse facem!

V. 195 iusu, P. (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 199 Noctnruas, P.

V. 206 genus, P (*corr. in erratis* : gemis)

- 215 Carne pluens celum taceat Romana vetustas!
 Ille (ferunt) avidas paverit imber aves.
 Tum rauco humanas (fama est) bos gutture voces
 Edidit, et vastum saxa dedere sonum. f. Biii^v
 Ethera quin taceat Volscis micuisse subactis,
 220 Illa licet clades signa sequuta fuit.
 Plena magis fato veniunt incendia levo,
 Rebus ut a magnis maior origo fluit.
 Quis non ista legat lachrymis portenta subortis?
 Qui gerit haud rigidas, saxeus ille, comas?
 225 Hic violata ruunt tremulis altaria flammis;
 Pane latet niveo proximus ipse Deus.
 Quid si (dextra stupet, coeptum tremit edere versum!)
 Ignibus accensis hostia tacta foret?
 Nec solum Egidii trepidassent membra clientum;
 230 Nature totum contremuisset opus!
- Aegidii veneranda patris gens ipsa quotannis
 Festa colit; famulos cerne, patrone, tuos :
 Tam mutata iacent neglecto secula cultu,
 Prospera quam subito lintea rapta Noto.
 235 Florida riderent quando sua rura Napeis,
 Panderet et venas herbida terra suas,
 Consuevit iuvenum, delecto principe, pubes
 Curare estiferos fallere leta dies.
 Sed velut arboreis avium gaudentia ramis
 240 Agmina, quum Nisus transvolat ore minax,
 Omnia surripuit pestis. Iam gaudia luctus
 Occupat, et letum pectora sana ferunt. f. Biiii^r
 Ecce surburbanas morbus contaminat edes,
 Languida letheo membra sopore premens.
 245 Colluvies damni multum fert proxima : labe
 Vicina citius nostra scabescit ovis.
 Clam repit ingrediens taciturno murmure pestis,
 Et prima tenues spurcat orex Lares.

V. 232 cerue patront, P (*corr. in erratis* : patrone)V. 238 fallare, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 248 spurcato rexe, P.

- Sic solet a parva vires intendere gutta,
 250 Toxica que plenos inficit herba cados.
 Sicque prius modicis flammam confovīt aristis,
 Qui vagus immensos ignis adurit agros.
- Deinde gravi video morientum funera luctu
 Efferri, implicitis stare viros manibus.
 255 Conspicor innuptas sortem deflere puellas,
 Causari mestos lubrica fata senes.
 Pars ego sum prede contactus ab ulcere fedo;
 Fata tamen filum non secuere meum.
 Sufficit exemplo quicquam deducere nostro,
 260 Sit licet in varium Parca vagata caput.
 Vix animum crebro lassum pulmone trahebam;
 Spiritus exusto pectore anhelus erat.
 Mors rapit exiguam gemino cum fratre sororem;
 Fluctuat et timido cum duce tota domus.
 f. Biiii▼ 265 Ah, nimium caros tandem furibunda parentes
 Abstulit. Heu, iuveni secula dura mihi!
 Destituor iam solus, inops, adiutus ab uno,
 Qui tam presentem porrigit usque manum.
 Eius ut enixam solvit Lucina sororem,
 270 Lustrali nostrum diluit amne caput,
 Meque suo primum dignatus nomine, tutas
 Inter precipui fovit amoris opes.
 Innitens elephas magna velut arbore, fidit
 Spes mea presidio tota reposta suo.
 275 Lumina si tantum fortune blanda sequutus
 Esset, et impulsas non miseratus opes,
 Et sua ni nostram servet modo dextera sortem,
 Nulla foret tenui firma columna viro.
 Sic eius conspecta fides mihi tempore duro,
 280 Aurea ceu mediis lamina cocta focis.
 Ipsius meritis, qui me salvavit egentem,
 Hanc tangit querulam nostra Thalia lyram.

V. 267 ad uno, P.

V. 282 hyram, P (*corr in erratis*)

- Dum queror, his ipsum damnis fore gaudeo saluum;
 Sit mecenati vita secunda meo!
- 285 Ille mihi erumnas inter solamina tantas
 Prebet, diffise lenis ut aura rati.
- Nunc, quia turbatis Euro commisimus undis,
 Carbasa, quo pellat ceca procella, fluant.
 Mors ruganda modo spirantibus equore ventis
- 290 Vela, modo autemnis insinuanda regit. f. Ci^r
 Discurrant, vastos ubi Scylla reciproca fluctus
 Elevat, et facto vortice flexa gemit;
 Ethneas videant ardenti sulphure flammæ,
 Albaque Cyclopi ossibus antra virum;
- 295 Archadis et videant infame Lycaonis antrum
 Cedibus, et sevi turpia membra Caci.
 Discurrant Siculas rostro ruitura Carybdes,
 Et si qua pontus plura pericla tenet.
 Nam terris quecumque aliis maiora petantur,
- 300 Omnia nunc nostro sunt referenda modo.
 Omnibus una magis pestis metuenda periclis;
 Que mare, que tellus non habet, illa parit.
 Quantum danda fides mihi tempestate subacto,
 Quilibet experti verba tenenda putat.
- 305 Crescit feda lues; populum perterret imago
 Mortis, et avertit gaudia cuncta timor.
 Quos felix fortuna levat, quos ima premit sors,
 Formido cunctos atterit una necis.
- Phebus littorii descendit brachia cancri,
 310 Aegra molercheo terra leone iacet.
 Frugifer aridulis campus flavescit aristas,
 Sirius et medio splendet ab ore Canis.
 Ipsa Canis varios morborum sepe calores
- f. Ci^v
 Gignit, et a celo plurima damna pluit.
- 315 Proh dolor! O nimium furiali plena veneno
 Veneris, o magnas te vacuasse domos!

V. 290 autemnis, P.

V. 296 seni, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 305 perterrit, P.

- Foemineum nostro nomen tibi carmine detur;
 Foemina pro cattulis acrior ipsa furit,
 Nondum multiplici saturata cadavere, ventrem
 320 Que tibi constringit tam violenta fames!
 Cede licet gaudes; tantum morbosa vocare,
 Sed sequitur titulum mors inimica tuum.
 Mors agit ancipiti (miserum) nos ense, columbas
 Vultur ut innocuas ungue rapace furens.
 325 Ingruit excidium; Stygio foetore scabescunt
 Omnia; funebres vix capit ethra sonus.
 Heus, iam multa domus passim deserta, veneno
 Tabescit, titulis antea clara suis.
 Nuncia si queras, nutus pro voce loquetur;
 330 Prima salutantum conficit ora dolor.
 Quam visis portam, paucos accedere cernes;
 Egreditur modicis curribus ampla domus.
 Congerit hic viridi luteum pars cespite culmen,
 Qua serpit blando labilis unda vado.
 335 Pars, cui maior adest pinguis fortuna peculi,
 Paupere se tecto continet agricole.
 f. Cii^r Et modo si possunt, alto de colle Penates
 Prospiciunt tristes. Talia voce ferunt :
 "O mea cura, tuum quenam Ramnusia fastum
 340 Exuat, aversis invida luminibus.
 "Leta fores dudum sublimis regia nostri
 Principis, et patrii maxima fama soli.
 "Tu tutrix inopum, viduique potissima lecti
 Servatrix, senio spesque fidesque gravi,
 345 "His dudum auxilio quotquot fueratis, ut isdem
 Efficiant similes, que movet ira deos?
 "Nec celum incuso; celo est invicta potestas :
 Suspendunt sensum tot modo fata meum.
 "Languet tota domus hora languentis eadem;
 350 Cum domino famuli, stirps quoque tota cadunt".
 Talia proveniunt nobis ex edibus istis,
 Nuncia, mens tantis congemit egra malis.

 Pergama nunc sileant Danais superata lacertis,
 Troica qui levo prelia Marte canunt.

- 355 Tot sileant mactata virûm Simoentis ad undam
 Corpora, scutiferis trunca natasse vadis.
 Aeneas hinc tutus abit; Iunonis ab ira
 Salvus, in optatum navigat ipse solum.
 Non nostri sic ira dei superabilis. Ille
- 360 Torrida fatorum legibus astra movet.
 Nempe licet fugimus foede contagia cladis,
 Quod noceat, semper putridus aer habet. f. Cii^v
 Denique nullius secli memorabilis etas
 Tot tulit adverso sidera iniqua deo.
- 365 Quid Poenum tu, Roma, times? Tua iura putarunt
 Haud bello cives posse perire tuos.
 Laus erat in trabea, sellisque curulibus, hoste
 Sub Gallo Ausonios occubuisse patres.
 His saltem sua fama manet; nos dira rapit nex,
- 370 Candida nec merite gloria laudis erit.
 Spergimur, ignari quando sua fulmina mittat
 Iuppiter, et cunctos obruat hora brevis.
 Esca feris humana iacent sic corpora, Xerxe
 Qualia sub timido Cecropis ora tulit.
- 375 Pestis Hamilcaride quum straverit agmina, luctus.
 Non maior patriam cepit, Elissa, tuam.
- Nunc ubi qui soleant venales tendere merces,
 Heu, heu, stat vacuo pergula nulla foro.
 Quis nunc aucupiis cunctatur querere nummos,
- 380 Iudicis ut lites ante tribunal agat?
 Nemo istic iudex, nemo est quem causa patronum
 Oret; Mors cunctis arbitra dira sedet.
 Libera frondosis ludit philomena sub umbris;
 Quis modulo dulces gutture pascit aves?
- 385 Quis nunc florigeros per compita spergit odores? f. Ciii^r
 Gramina quis Parias segregat ante fores?
 Frondea lentisci viridis quis brachia tendit
 Ordine. per summos aspide ducta gradus?
 Pro cantu feralis agit sua carmina bubo.
- 390 Atria sunt ramis plena, cupresse, tuis.

- Quis nunc virgineo cultas splendore puellas
 Intentus festo conspicit ora die?
 Tempora delectu nullo labuntur, amictu
 Omnia sunt pullo : convenit iste color.
 395 Divolat alterno pila nulla reciproca iactu.
 Mutarunt habitum secula nostra suum.
 Qui fuerit felix, nunc ipse miserrimus; egre
 Sustinet Eoleas navis onusta minas.
 Preterea tu visa mihi es mestissima tellus;
 400 Fumea de tectis non volat umbra tuis.
 Quando tibi occiduo fumarent culmina sole,
 Consuevit raras cogere pastor oves.
 Arte modo errantes alia sibi computat horas.
 Vesper adest, nulla condere nube caput;
 405 Interea, sancti vincit quam foedus amoris,
 Non valet obsequiis turba coire piis.
 Non manet extincto faciat qui iusta parenti,
 Et caro exequiis officiosus eat.
 f. Ciii^v Funera nec solitis procedunt ritibus ulla,
 410 Nec fert gentiles cerea teda notas.
 Vos tegit insignes tumulus, qui vilibus idem
 Vellitur; is felix, quem modo terra capit,
 Si tot lugubres inter superestis amici!
 Propitio incolumes numine abite dies.
 415 Non aliter nos specto, suum quam casta maritum
 Femina, in hostiles qui gerit arma manus.

 Eveniet forsán (bona sint precor omina dictis),
 Finiet hos longos pristina vita metus.
 Extorres patrie nos reddat Iuppiter; iram,
 420 Qui nunc castigat, leniet ipse suam.
 Hec miseris spes sola manet : Deus, omnia iuste
 Corripis; haud equum transgrediére modum.
 Illa dies veniet, qua dices : "sufficit"; olim
 Videris ut populum peste perire tuum.
 425 Si iustum (fateor) vindictam sumere velles,
 Vix ullus toto salvus in orbe foret.

- Sed bona fatidici spes est sententia vatis :
 "Accipies gremio corda reversa tuo".
 Iam simul intonuit fulmen, mitissime sother,
 430 Fac consternato sidera clara solo.
 Aspicias, ut legem nature exolvere, quamquam
 Sit permansueto pectore, nemo potest.
 Aspicias, ipsa licet salvi videt ora mariti,
 f. Ciii^r
 Secubat ut viduo femina mesta thoro.
 435 Aspicias, augende non ulla propaginis extat
 Cura; timent homines conciliare pares.
 Dum loquimur, vivo patimur sub pectore mortem;
 Nutantes animos non fovet ulla quies.
 O genitor, moderare manum. Tu, criminis ultor
 440 Et iudex, nulli sceptrum secunda tenes.
 Regia sit, quamvis rigida, pro lege voluntas
 Et rata sunt verbo condita cuncta suo.
 Quis tamen astrigeri convexa mole sub orbis
 Tam forti teneat libera regna manu,
 445 Quin trutine subeat tua iuste examina tandem,
 Et capiet factis premia iusta suis?
 Imperio celum et terram regis omnia lato,
 Cunctaque iudicii sunt rata verba tui.
 Tu gemitus miserare pios, per quinque precamur
 450 Vulnera, sis nostris prompta medela malis!
 Cura tibi sit quanta hominum, tua seva docet mors,
 Quam sumus o mortis pignora cara tue!
 Parce deus misero, ploranti parce popillo :
 En, lachrymans faciem procidit ante tuam.
 455 Longa trahit pressis suspiria follibus imi
 Pectoris, haud duro corde resistit iners.
 Non pharaona vides, animo qui ferreus alto
 f. Ciii^v
 In tua consurgat numina magna levis.
 Ipse Damascenam veluti quum pergeret urbem
 460 Saulus, in arbitrio dedita turba tuo est.
 Parce pater gladiumque tuum, tua tela reconde;
 In te conversi lumina fixa damus.

V. 432 permansueto, P.

V. 456 quies, P, *quod in corrigendis auctor mutavit in iners*

- Delusi potuere patres exposcere pacem
 Et mulcere suos thure cremante deos.
 465 Nos tua solius sequimur vestigia. Quicquid
 Evenit, id nutu credimus esse tuo.
 Nos vetat alma fides volucrum explorare volatus,
 Consilium et nostris exta rogare malis.
 Delphica non ibit quisquam, qui oracula poscat.
 470 Speluncam teneat solus Apollo suam!
 Consulit heu nostre prepes nil ala saluti,
 Divinumque nihil predicat oscen avis.
 Vis iubeas morbi cesset, peregreque recepta
 Plurima securi templa petemus ope.
 475 Diva feret grate genitrix munuscula dextre;
 Ambibit Mariam cerea flamma tuam.
 Ipsius niveam (sic appellatur) ad edem
 Ibimus. O pronas porrige, virgo, manus,
 Unde salutaris scatet omnis gratia mundi.
 480 Eripias medio carbasa lassa freto.

- f. Dir Lumina iam sistant lachrymas; compesce sonoros,
 Musula, singultus; fletibus ora vacent.
 Singula si fleres livente cadavera tabo,
 Que misere extremum tacta obiere diem,
 485 Pluribus esset opus, quam lucent sidera, linguis,
 Quam ludat vitreo squammea turba mari,
 Gramina quot gignit tellus, quot volvit arenas
 Pontus, habet vernas cedua silva comas;
 Ora tibi valido si tot clamore sonarent
 490 Pulsaretque tuam iusta querela lyram;
 Nec satis efferres damnose incommoda pestis,
 Nec pareret finem longa querela suum.
 Turgida continuo maculares lumina fletu,
 Lassarent vocem verba canora tuam.
 495 Pone igitur questus gemebundi pectoris altos,
 Et sit pacato purior aura Deo.

FINIS

II

Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis ad divam Margaritam
reginam Sapphicum carmen.

*

Affero sacras modulans ad aras
Carmen haud magno resonum cothurno.
Una tantillam venias Camenam
Margaris ornans!

- 5 Non nisi sanctos age, Clio, honores,
Pluris albenti celeres olore
Plumulas, auro et Danaes gravanti
Virginis alvum.

p. Di^v

- Inter ingentes Aquilonis iras,
10 Floribus levem et Zephyri susurrum,
Scotis est navi penetranda, toto ab
Orbe remota.

- Quam sinu Doris reboans vadoso
Cingit hybernis nivibus rigentem,
15 Finit et cunctis varians metallis
Ultima Thule.

- Vincit hic nullas Trivie tenebras
Pallor, ut frater Thetios sub undis
Mergitur, Cancro referente currus
20 Sole iugales.

- Regia proles, pia stirpe nascens,
Illius claram tuleris coronam,
Iuncta regali paritura lecto
Culmina regni;
25 Gemma Gangeas superans harenas,
Flos, fave, verno redolens in horto,
Liliis multo et violis rosaque
Suavior omni.

- Te magis Pean canit hic potentem
30 Bellica Nini Ethyopes triumpho
Que tulit! Cyri nece vincis ultam
Prelia matrem.

p. Di^{ir}

Martis horrendo litui boatu
 He virûm pugnīs animos cientes,
 35 Gloriam terris meruere fuso
 Sanguine totam.

Arma tu cultri redigens in usum
 Vomeris rostro nitidi secabas
 Arva : florebat, tepidum bibitque
 40 Terra cruorem.

Fusa claros cesaries per armos,
 Hactenus multis decorata gemmis
 Frontis ambibat celebris colore
 Tempora flavo.

45 Si modo splendens tereti monile
 Penderas collo, Tyrieque vestes
 Corpus ornassent, fueras Olympo
 Fervida semper.

Cyprie semper Veneris perosa,
 50 Ore Pandora roseo nitebas
 Castior : sancta vegetavit alvo
 Mascula virtus.

p. Dii^v Sepe sub noctis tenebras silentis
 Pervigil, freno genii retracto,
 55 Nuda deflexis genibus solebas
 Fundere vota.

Proprii lactis niveo liquore
 Paveris natos, gremio gerebas
 Quos tuo, ne qua violare possent
 60 Pabula mores.

Virgo Phenicis trabeata nido
 Rarior! mira cumularis edes
 Mole scandentes liquidum Tonantis
 Aera laudi

- 65 Grata tu Regi soboles Supremo,
 Quum dies una tetrice sorores
 Ultimos nerent, reducens ad astra
 Miseris auras,
 Aureis corpus tegit archa fulchris.
- 70 Pyramis cedat Rodopeia tante,
 Qua nitent regum generosa tractu
 Stemmata longo.
 Nam tibi lucem facibus micantes
 Cereis are celebrant quotannis.
- 75 Confluit terram populus per omnem ad
 Orgia supplex.
 Matribus dextra gravidis potenti
 Subvenis, fati cohibens habenas,
 Mitis enixe vocitata sepe
- 80 Tristia levis,
 Inter o gaudens Superûm phalanges
 Quis loqui tanto poterit lepore,
 Ut tibi cunctos phaleris loquellæ
 Solvat honores?
- 85 Non si florentes animosa Pallas
 Inserat linguas, strepitu vel essem
 Stentor, et voces, oculis ut Argus
 Vidit, haberem!
- En, sub obscuro latitantis orbe
- 90 Lucis hic vitam tenebris opacam
 Degimus; nostre maria et carine
 Membra fatigant.
 Nostra natalem peregrina campum
 Cymba distentis petit acta velis.
- 95 Impedit dorso Caphareus alto
 Flammaque Naupli.

p. Diii^rV. 95 Impetit, P (*corr. in erratis*)V. 96 Flaminaque, P. (*corr. in erratis*)

- Explica lumen radiosa magnum!
 Mox tuo Phoebus iubari coruscus
 Ibit, ut pellas tenebrosa cece
 100 Nubila noctis.
- p. Diii^v Splendidos lumen superans lapillos
 Advola, lete veniant ut aure.
 Dirige ventis habitura portus
 Vela secundos.
- 105 Nulla luctetur pelago procella.
 Sis vago noctu Cynosura naute,
 Ut queat remo meliore intus
 Currere linther.

III

Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis de mercatorum facilitate
 aesclepiadeum carmen.

- Regnat magnificis quis modus oppidis,
 Vallatisque manet quis modus urbibus?
 Hic sunt continuo Palladiis viri
 Intenti studiis; iura docent graves
 5 Hic servanda patres. Congerit hic opes
 Dives, turrigeras construit et domos.
 Plumbi tecta polit lamina; circuit
 Hic aurum Eolei flaminis indicem.
 Trabs splendet variis picta coloribus.
 10 Delectant animos talia : nam suo
 Dignus quisque statu est.
 Sed miser imbris
 Mercator gelidis, et maris impetu
 Eger, sepe madens est ; facilis nimis
 p. Div^r Getulo iuvenem murice feminam
 15 Lascivamque modis ornat in omnibus,

V. 102 veniūt, P, *sed u lineola superne inducta atramento, ut videtur, in a litteram mutata est cum in exemplari Parisiensi tum in Edinburgensi et Cantabrigiensi.*

V. 106 Cynosura, P (*corr., metri causa, in erratis*)

V. 7 Blumbi, P; lamia, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 13 minis, P.

- Vultu queque petit flebilis hernico
 Concedit; pedicis se capit et suis.
 O, quid mentis inops atque animi facis!
 Ut paces, oleo ceruleam facem
- 20 Conaris. Tua cum mercibus efficis
 Ut prostet mulier, veneat et tuis!
 Candaulis metues vulnera, qui nimis
 Uxoris specie captus amabili,
 Secum delicias non tacuit suas,
- 25 Consortemque suum fecit adulterum.
 Si formosa Venus, candida, lumine
 Blando, comis, amans rectaque corpore,
 Ut dicatur : “Habet namque iuenculam
 Perbellam ille”, rogis das alimoniam.
- 30 Bis tinctis Tyrio flumine vestibus
 Incedit; tua vix membra tegit sagum.
 Et quando anchoreis navita morsibus
 Proram dissoluit, qua mare transeas,
 Inquit mesta “Vale”, scilicet et “Redi!”
- 35 Post nudata patent pectora latius :
 Inflammat iuvenum corda cupidine.
 Suadetur precibus plurima Tyndaris.
 Urit sepe alios, ni abstineat pudor.
 Rara est Penelope; Clodius est frequens!

p. Div^v

V

Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis Patricio Panther,
 oratori clarissimo illustrissimi Scotorum regis
 Iacobi quarti Secretario magno, carmen.

- Non parva Aoniis, Patrici, gloria Musis,
 Cui Clarius cytharam cedat Apollo suam,
 Aspice quam tremulo ludat tibi carmine pecten,
 Quam rubet aspectum Musa subire tuum!
- 5 Quando Pierides inter versare Sorores,
 Substat iudicio turba diserta tuo.

V. 22 Caudaulis, P

V. 2 Appollo, P (*corr. in erratis*)

- Calles Myncigene divina poemata vatis,
 Et vatum princeps quicquid Homerus habet.
 Spectatos rigidi mores imitare Catonis;
 10 Romanus prompto fulminat ore lepor.
 Aspice quam tremulo ludat tibi carmine pecten,
 Quam rubet aspectum Musa subire tuum!
- Scis : pugil annosus prodit gladiator harena,
 Et cauto illatis ictibus ense venit.
 15 Dimicat, atque agiles divolvit in aera iactus;
 In se spectantum lumina fixa tenet.
 At si tyro novus circo processerit, ille
 Laudatur, meritis premia digna ferens.
 p. Ei^r Aspice quam tremulo ludat tibi carmine pecten,
 20 Quam rubet aspectum Musa subire tuum!
- Obiice Palladium violentis aegida monstis :
 Cynthia non patitur spicula livor edax.
 Te duce nil metuo mordacis prelia lingue :
 Nam fugiet scutum lividus ipse tuum.
 25 Non secus Herculee conspectu exterrita clave,
 Diffugit aligero stridula musca sono.
 Aspice quam tremulo ludat tibi carmine pecten,
 Quam rubet aspectum Musa subire tuum!
- Accipe non largo crescentem fonte Camenam :
 30 Presidio flabit tutior aura tuo.
 Nam tua Meoneis laus est celebranda cothurnis,
 Laus tua Threicias digna movere lyras.
 Sed bene que nescit plectrum torquere canorum,
 Nostra quatit tenuem parva Thalia chelyn.
 35 Aspice quam tremulo ludat tibi carmine pecten,
 Quam properat dextram Musa subire tuam.
 Vale.

V. 7 Myncigine, P (*in erratis* Myncigene)

V. 14 canto, P (*corr. in erratis*)

V. 32 threicias, P.

V. 34 chelyin, P.

V. 36 tuū, P., *In exemplari cantabrigiensi u lineola superinducta clausa est in a litteram.*

V

Iacobi Follisii Iacobo Hay, pontificii iuris doctori
benemerito, carmen.

- Sunt veteres usi variis, Iacobe, coronis,
Ne non virtuti premia certa forent.
Aurea Romanos ornabant sarta triumphos,
Prelia si lauri digna fuere comis.
- 5 Quum Poeno obsessam Cunctator providus urbem
Solverit, e patrio gramine dona tulit.
Fortiter is, primus murum qui scanderet altum,
Pinnato crines vertice cinctus erat.
Sustulit elatus superato insignia vallo,
- 10 Qui fudit audaci castra cruenta manu.
Queque aliis querno compressit tempora ramo,
Civica servato cive corona fuit.
Myrtea gestabat sublimi brachia fronte,
Cui palma invalido contigit hoste levis.
- 15 Nonnullos tollit navalis adorea pugne :
Cynegerum tali Grecia laude canit.
Perdidit ille manus; demum mordacibus alto
Impediit Persas dentibus ire rates.
Hec est ipsa, viros effert que gloria fortes;
- 20 Assidua virtus publica laude viret!
Nec qui Castaliis animum deterisit in undis,
Ocia tranquilli immunia cordis agit.
Quam Iove nata suo Tritonia finxerit ungue,
Turba refert studiis iusta trophea suis.
- 25 Nec cunctos idem perducit ad ardua callis,
Quos iuvat ingenii vis animosa sui.
Pars inventa cupit presage grammata matris,
Que facili teneros formet ab arte sinus.
- 30 Verbaque Dedaleo texere ceca modo.
Pars videt ethereos cursus, variosque per orbes
Inflexum vegete mentis acumen agit.

p. Eiv

p. Eii^r

V. 3 triûphos, P.

V. 27 iuuenta, P.

- Doctus Appollinea Chyron studet arte mederi,
 Et vires dubiis reddere pectoribus.
- 35 Carmina sydereos vates imitantia raptus
 Procudit numeris verba ligata suis.
 Maxima si iecit Latialis semina linguae,
 Eloquii est princeps Tullius atque pater.
 Ut reliquos sileam, multos sapientia iuris
- 40 Allicet (*sic!*), ingenuo non nisi digna viro.
 Hoc, Iacobe, nitens albo tibi nomen eburno,
 Laureae perpetui sarta decoris habet.
 Te iuvit teneram studiis arcere iuventam,
 Quis ageret letos cana senecta dies.
- 45 Humanis norma est iuris prudentia factis,
 Et merito dici vera sophia potest.
 Extirpat duro rigidos de pectore mores,
 Effingens docta barbara corda manu.
 Iusticie placidam felix comitaris habenam,
- 50 Que constans trutinat pondere cuncta suo.
 Non illa vafro metitur lance Philippo
 p. Eii^v Premia; qua fratrum venditus arte capit.
 Hanc non flectit amor; vani non flectit honoris
 Gloria, non auro plena crumena gravi.
- 55 Sed sordent vitiis presentia secula : veste
 O quotiens lacera transfuga linquit humum!
 Que dedit arma Pater, celum spoliata remigrat
 Et reddit trutine litia rupta sue.
 Virginis astra gemunt udo lachrymantis ab ore :
- 60 Solatur natam Iuppiter ipse suam.
 Hanc colis, hanc toto dominam sectaris amore!
 Hec magna est studii pars, Iacobe, tui!
 Hec tibi sola comes curas depellit amaras,
 Et tecum lances pensitat usque suas.
- 65 Integros alme monitus docet improba vite,
 Que legum sacro dogmata fonte bibis;
 Mistaque Cesareo canonum precepta nitore
 Depromis, gemino tela iacenda (*sic!*) foro.

V. 33 Appollinea, P : *atramento correctum in exemplari Edinburgensi. Cf. etiam carmen IV. 2.*

V. 45 pendentia, P.

- Quam tibi mens istas aptat bene docta sagittas,
 70 Defixa ostendet iudice meta bono!

VI

Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis
 Remaclo Arduenne Florenati carmen.

- Hesperius postquam Zephyros dimiserit Athlas,
 Gemmatum ostendunt summa fruteta decus.
 Gramina florigeris iam tum ridentia pratis,
 Per thyma mellilegas verna morantur apes.
 5 Docte Remacle, tuo Zephyrus iam flavit ab antro,
 Deliciasque tenes florida rura tuas.
 Quando ego per campos, te permittente, vagarer,
 Pascua sunt animum leta morata meum :
 Flore virent multo; circumstant ordine vites,
 10 Saxosa et vitreis unda susurrat aquis.
 Nam rosa purpureos pulcherrima pandit hyatus.
 Margaris herbigeris crescit amena solo.
 Pastorio nostro quantum tua rura placebunt,
 Premia ne in tanto vana labore putes!
 15 Exprime! Suspensis quid habet vindemia prelis?
 Sidere matura est uva premenda suo.
 Exprime precoces (differsne, Remacle?) racemos :
 Floridus et Corydon dulcia musta bibent.
 Post, ubi pastores Bacchus calefecerit ambos,
 20 Rustica magnanimum tollet avena ducem.

p. Eiii^r

VII

Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis
 Iohanni Nocturno exastichum.

- Quamvis Parrhisia peregrinus cedis ab urbe,
 Non minor absentis stat mihi cura tui.
 Si tibi, quas vellem, nequeo perpendere grates,
 Hoc firmum nostri pignus amoris habe.
 5 Spiritus hic tenues quando vanescet in auras,
 Vincula pectoribus rupta duobus erunt.

p. Eiii^v

VIII

Ad difficilem quendam amicum
exastichum.

- Nos non sperne, licet non sit mihi turgida nummis
Bursa, nec immensas archa recondat opes.
Nemo probus divesque simul; probitatis honestum
Ledit inexplata clausa crumena manu.
5 Etsi difficilis modo sit fortuna, favebit
Et dabit optatos dexter Apollo dies.

IX

Iacobi Follisii Edinburgensis
clarissime indolis adolescentulo
Georgio Henrison exhortatiuncula.

- Inclite, fluctivagam, iuvenis, conscende carinam;
Ardua Gorgonii limina fontis adi.
Candet uti Parius species tua compta lapillus,
Ora tibi roseis suntque polita notis.
5 Bellus et ingenua redimitus es indole; luxus
In tua Pactoli tecta liquoris abit.
Fluxus honor forme est; fulvo prestantior auro
Gloria Cecropiis enucleanda scholis
Vale.

X

p. Eiiii^r

Ad lectorem, distichum.

- Candide, in hoc, lector, que sunt errata libello,
Collegi propriis restituenda locis.

titulus : exhortatiumcula, C.

V. 1 *Pro iuvenis (P) scriptum erat puer o in Caubraith.*

B. *Scattered Poems*

1.

Verses in : Robert Caubraith, *Quadrupertitum*.

a) Iacobi Foullis Edinburgensis in Lividum decastichon asclepiadeum.

- Enascens Stygiis, livide, faucibus
 Phoebeam nequeas lampada cernere,
 Eoi croceam Luciferi iubam,
 Pertesaeque miser Nychtimenae es comes.
- 5 Si virus calido gutture Pythium
 Ardescat, nigrior seu liquida pice
 Ringas, hunc vomitu, marcide, non linas
 Lerneo, residem sed specui pedem
 Transfer, vipereus te impleat ut cruor :
- 10 Quod nulli placeat pectus alit tuum!

b) Iacobi Foullis Edinburgensis bonarum artium studioso iuveni Thomae Bellenden conterraneo elegum carmen acutissimi regentis sui M. Roberti Caubraith commendativum.

- Indica gens veteres laudabat gymnosophistas
 Ipsaque divinos Graecia docta sophos;
 Tertius immensi iamiam Cato venit honoris,
 Attica quem bifido stringit alumna sinu.
- 5 Terra Britanna virum genuit, circumflua Doris
 Quam toto gelidum semovet orbe solum.
 Martia Parrhisiae properans ad tecta palaestrae,
 Qua strepit undisonis Sequana pronus aquis,
 Alto Zenonicos exhausit fonte liquores,
- 10 Auxit et ingenio flumina larga suo.
 Optima spectato compressit queque libello,
 Secrevit priscis abdita multa viris.
 Pullulat ambrosii redolentis magna saporis
 Copia, et arvisii Chia Falerna cadi.
- 15 Mantoi iuvenis dignus modulamine vatis,
 Si regeret venas docta Thalia meas,
 Te canerem! Tali celebrem te carmine fecit,
 Cuius ab Hybleos colligis ore favos.

- Volvas Daedaleo meditata sophismata sensu,
 20 Et lima patrii pumificata sophi.
 Talia non dederat Persae fera pabula Cyro,
 Talis Amaltheae non fuit esca Iovi.

c) Eiusdem industrio adolescenti Georgio Henrison cum moribus optimis imbuti, tum clarissima indole perspicuo octostichon.

The same text, but for one variant reading, as Poem IX, above, p. 132.

2.

Carmen Elegum

Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo XII^o Idibus Iuliis ego Magister Iacobus Foullis Edinburgensis metropolitanae dioecesis Sancti Andree, tutillaris Scoticanæ nationis patroni, electus fui procurator iure legitime omnium suffragante consensu.

[J.] Foullis.

- Scotorum eterna nomen cum laude triumphet;
 Sit gens pro titulis nobilitata suis.
 Marte ferox, iraque brevi, sanctissima curat
 Federa; nil fingens omnia aperta colit.
 5 Huic pactam violare fidem nil turpius unquam
 Creditur; ambiguo semper ab hoste cavet.
 Viribus indulget, multoque infracta labore
 Dura subit. Verbis parca, sed alta cupit.
 Subdola si simulet fraudes inimicus, amicum
 10 pluris habet rebus, patria chara magis.
 Si quando fines opus est defendere bello,
 Haud nummis, nutu principis arma rapit.
 Stant acres vultu aspectus, faciesque severe,
 Ingentes animi, fortia membra virûm.
 15 Precipuus celi cultus, magnique Tonantis;
 Debita huic pietas, non simulata, placet.
 Duratura diu crescat sub sidere fausto
 Scotia, cristicolis terra beata viris,
 Augeat ut nostri longevos principis annos
 20 Juppiter, huic patri stemmata longa trahat.
 Candida protelent fatales pensa Sorores,
 Immemor officii sit Soror aspra sui!

O sua semper ames Iacobum Scotia quartum,
Quo duce te celo fama secunda feret.

Τελος

Disticum

Vivat Edinburgi felix, generosa iuventus,
Gaudeat, et veris floreat aucta bonis.

Finis.

[J.] Foullis.

3.

Strena

- Tempora magnanimo que nunc felicia Regi
Sydera portendunt, dicere Musa cupit.
Ausus ob hec nimium tenui cantare Camena,
Incipiam auspiciis, rex Iacobe, tuis.
5 Pieridum tu dulce decus, concede favorem
Edere Iudicio metra legenda bono.
Torpentes fracto repares cum pectine nervos,
Et moveas docilem per tua fila manum.
Principium bifrons anni Iam Ianus apertum
10 Fecerit, et Phebus celsius orbe micat.
Ipse potens rerum pater alta mente reponens
Omnia, fatales prospiciensque vices,
Protinus aligerum coram Iubet esse ministrum,
Clausaque dat Clario scripta ferenda deo.
15 Iussa peracturus tecto Iovis evolat alto
Nuncius, et rapidum flectitur ante deum :
“Phebe (ait), immensi magnus tibi rector Olympi
Scribit epistolio que velit ille suo.”
Cura fuit Phebo celeres cohibere Iugales,
20 Et cohibet, donec litera lecta fuit.
Nec mora, signatam diducit pollice ceram,
Et legit auratis talia verba notis :
“Nos qui celestes positos digessimus orbes
Legibus, et certis volvimus astra modis,
25 Cura hominum nonnulla tenet : terrena potestas,
Summa nisi faveant numina, nulla foret.
En mea progenies, regni moderator aviti,
Iam sceptrum arripuit, Scotica iura tuens.

- Est illic pietas, illic reverentia nostri,
 30 Est illic pure relligionis amor.
 Ut regem aversata fuit Fortuna potentem,
 Dira sub infausto sydere fata tulit.
 Nam desperatis languet pessundata rebus
 Scotia, que miseros ducere visa dies.
 35 Factio, rupta fides, et pax simulata, tumultus,
 Falsus amor, cedes, lata rapina, dolus
 Regnandi cepere locum; concordia, fedus,
 Pax, amor, atque quies, et sine cede manus
 Extorres abiere simul, simul aurea veri
 40 Gloria, iustitie lycia rupta iacent.
 Nam vexat iustos immensa licentia furum,
 Templorum passim diruta tecta cadunt.
 Si quis in hac dignus est tempestate Catonis
 Nomine perpetuo, consilioque valens,
 45 Ipsius Catelina loco sceleratus honore
 Fungitur, et tumido suspicit ore minax.
 Elati incedunt mentita pelle Lycurgi;
 Is bonus est consul, qui mage fraudis habet.
 Cogimur errores tandem componere tantos,
 50 Ne quis regnantem non putat esse Iovem.
 Hoc Iacobus aget quintus rex stirpe suorum
 Inclytus offitium, quod sibi Iure vacat.
 Clarior haud bello quisquam, nec pacis amator
 Ancus pace fuit, Relligione Numa.
 55 Mascula thoracem virtus huic pectora fortem
 Induet, et galeam spes geret ampla suam.
 Ferripedem urgenti viso calcaribus hoste
 Aggressos hastam porriget alma Fides.
 Periure nulla dextre formidine pulsus,
 60 Subveniet miseris, colla superba premens.
 Hectore nec tantum sua Troia superstite gaudens,
 Nec fuit Eacide Gretia leta suo,
 Quantum gaudebit promisso principe fati
 Scotia : solus erit ille daturus opem.
 65 Omnia que tanto felicem principe terram
 Efficiant, divûm sedula cura geret.
 Eia age, Phebe, tuis circundes ignibus orbem,
 Et plaga fervores sentiat illa tuos!

- Temperiem diffunde bonam, sic grata colonis
 70 Ut veniat messis semine digna suo.
 Nos quoque pro nostre prolis faciemus honore
 Quod bene susceptum, secula cuncta canent.”
 Delius ut cartam legit, gremioque reclusam
 Condidit, “Expeditam Iussa Tonantis”, ait.
 75 Alipedes premitit equos, curruque sequutus
 Aurivomo, placida dirigit ora manu.
 Vertice ceruleo summus se extollit Olympus,
 Et fugiunt toto nubila densa polo.
 Hinc natura suas varie et subtiliter artes
 80 Perque astra exercet, viscera perque soli.
 Id mirata, colunt Imas que numina terras,
 Que degunt tremulis flumina clara vadis,
 “Frugiferum hoc celum (dixerunt) destinat annum,
 Florescet leto germine terra ferax.
 85 Scotia (sentimus) tardo subiecta Boote,
 Rege sub excelso fenora larga dabit.”
 Mox capiunt Fauni silvas, hortisque Priapus
 Pomiferis prohibet sidere nudus aves.
 Flora recens campos gemmato vestit honore,
 90 Officio Dryadum pascua leta virent.
 Herbida gramineos exhalat terra saporis,
 Inque novum pergunt sponte fruteta decus.
 Per valles blando lapidosas murmure serpunt
 Flumina, Nereides flumina clara tenent.
 95 Seminibus paleata Ceres fecundat opimis
 Iugera, que nullo culta labore forent,
 Ingentemque avidi spem non lusura coloni
 Sydere promittit grana legenda suo.
 Pan curare greges, Pan cogere montibus agnos,
 100 Armentisque studet claudere septa vagis.
 Maiori redeunt spumantia mulctra colostro,
 Et solito pecudes grandius uber habent.
 Res ita disposuit nostras clementia divûm;
 Propitios meminit quis magis ante deos?
 105 Interea Iovis ipse puer placidissima regni
 Sceptra gerens, populo dat bona Iura suo.
 Finis.

4.

Verses from "*The New Actis & Constitutionis of Parliament*"

- a) Fama secunda ferat Iacobum ad sidera quintum;
Quo regnante, bonum celitus omne venit.

ALIVD

Pace bonus, belloque potens, Iustissimus orbis
Hoc regnum quintus, Rex Iacobus habet.

- b) [at end]

IMAGO CRVCIFIXI, SEDENTIS AD IVDICIUM

En ego Iusticie typus atque figura, tribunal
Sic ascendo meum, dextra assertoribus alta
Astipulor Veri, quibus hec mea lilia merces.
At si quis contra sentit, demissa sinistra

- 5 In Stygios Iubet Ire lacus, gladioque feriri.

NOTES

— *Dedication Letter*

Alexander Stewart (b. 1493? - killed at Flodden, 1513), son of James IV of Scotland, pupil of Erasmus in Italy and archbishop (1509) of St. Andrews. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII, 1154-1155; P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Reprint Graz, 1957), p. 236.

1. Foullis followed Hieronymus Aleander from Paris to Orleans (*Aurelia*) at the end of 1510, when the plague infested the French capital. See J. Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland", p. 7.

2. Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 35.36.

3. Foullis will describe a plague, which raged in Scotland about fourteen years before (1498-1499 — See note to poem I). Here he is counting from the moment he wrote this preface (1512). Actually the poem was written in 1510 under the influence of the plague in Paris. This is confirmed by vv. 45-46: "... suppressa memor bisse nos fata per annos/Horrende repeto tela cruenta necis."

Ever since the time of Lucretius and Virgil many poems have been written in Latin on the plague or other epidemic diseases. To quote only a few of them: among the Italian humanists Dominicus Silvestris described a plague in Florence (1363?) in a poetical letter to his friend Landolfo Caiazza (ed. R. C. Jensen, Domenico Silvestri, *The Latin Poetry*, München 1973, 107-119), whereas Angelo Poliziano wrote a *Sylva in scabiem* shortly before 1478 (ed. A. Perosa, Roma, 1954), and Hieronymus Fracastorius achieved everlasting fame with his *Syphilis sive de morbo Gallico libri III*, published for the first

time in 1530 but written some five years earlier (ed. F. Winspeare, Florence, 1955). Another contemporary of Foullis, the Rhetoroman humanist Simon Lemnius, himself to be a victim of the 1550 plague in Chur, chose the form of a bucolic poem to describe this terrible disease (*Bucolicorum eclogae quinque*, Basel, 1542; the text also in P. Plattner, *Die Raeteis von Simon Lemnius... Epos in IX Gesängen*, Chur, 1874, pp. xxiii-xxvii). Other, but later examples are the *Carmen pro vera medicina*; *De lue pestilenti elegiarum liber unus* (Antwerp, 1562) of the Flemish physician Gabriel Ayala (Cf. A. Van Schevensteen, *De Gulden Passer*, N.R. 9, 1931, 132-134); a *Poematium de peste* (Prague 1614) in 281 hexameters by the Slovak schoolmaster Andreas Rochotius (Cf. J. Hejnic - J. Martinek, *Rukovet humanistického básnictví*, vol. IV (Prague 1973), p. 337) and finally the *Pisana Precatio: Ad Divum Rochum pestilentiae tempore tutelarem*, an Alcaic ode (1631) by the Portuguese Stephanus Rodericus Castrensis or Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro, professor of medicine at Pisa (new edition by G. Manupella, *Obras Poéticas em Português, Castelhana, Latim, Italiano* (Coimbra, 1967), p. 149 + 413-416). These examples chosen at random may suffice to show how often and in what different forms Neo-Latin poets expressed their dismay at the perennial threat of epidemics. Foullis's elegy is certainly not the least interesting of them. — See also R. Girard, "The Plague in Literature and Myth", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, XV (1974), 831-850.

6. "frontem perfrucit": cfr. Martial XI.27.7 "perfrucit frontem" — J. Durkan, "The Beginnings...", p. 8, has misunderstood the comparison "vix quintae classis...", when he comments that Foullis is telling us that he "is now in the fifth class of law at Orleans, whereas the archbishop was already a graduate of the first class". Foullis only compares his modest social situation to that of the archbishop by means of a Roman scale of social values. Since the constitution of king Servius Tullius the Roman citizens were divided into five classes: the poorest ones were to be found in the fifth class and were called "accensi". The richest proprietors belonged to the first class. Cf. Erasmus's letter to Evangelista (Paris? 1497), P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistularum*, I n° 57.

8. Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 19-20.

9. Cfr. Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX.548: "... parmaque inglorius alba" and the comment of Servius on this verse: "quasi tiro, quia picta arma iam probati in bellis habebant".

12. The story of Apelles ("Ne sutor supra crepidam") is told by the elder Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 35.85. The expression "adamussim" is to be found in Varro, *De Re Rustica*, II.1.26 and others.

14. "ursino more elaborato": cfr. Ovid, *Metamorph.*, XV.379-381:

*Nec catulus, partu quem reddidit ursa recenti,
Sed male viva caro est. Lambendo mater in artus
Fingit et in formam, quantam capit ipsa, reducit.*

Hence vernacular expressions such as the English "an unlicked cub", the Dutch "ongelikte beer" or the French "un ours mal léché".

— *Dedicatory Epigram*

James Henryson of Fordel, who was a royal justice-clerk and a relative of Foullis, also fell in the battle at Flodden.

— *Poem I.*

The main poem of the book sings the story of a great plague in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland at the end of the fifteenth century. Personal recollections of the poet, who lost his whole family at that time, are mingled with long moralising reflections and much rhetorical padding. At places Foullis's Latin is still awkward and anything but clear. But there are some good verses too, and in general one can say that he reaches the level of the first generation of Northern poets formed in the school of Andrelini and other Italians in France and the Netherlands.

So far no other historical records of the fire in St. Giles have emerged. Prof. G. Donaldson (University of Edinburgh) wrote us : "Indeed I see nothing about a major conflagration after what happened on Richard II's invasion in 1385. It does emerge, from many entries in the town council accounts, that work on the edifice was almost incessant, mainly by way of enlargement and additions, and such work was going on in the 1490s." Mr. Durkan also believes Foullis's reference to the fire to be unique and wonders if the reconstruction and extension of the choir around 1500 was not related to that event. As to the plague Prof. Donaldson wrote : "The printed extracts from the Burgh Records show that the pestilence was affecting people in the vicinity of the town on 28 March 1498, which means that it may have reached the town itself a little later. On 17 November 1498 there is a further act of the Council, but still suggesting that the plague was in the vicinity rather than in the town, and there are similar acts on 6 February and 27 April of the following year. Then an act of 19 February 1499/1500 makes it clear that the plague has been in the town". It is of course, as Prof. Donaldson points out, difficult to detect when there was what a contemporary would describe as a "a terrible plague". But it is obvious that even a limited outbreak of the plague could assume terrible propositions in the mind of a poet who lost his whole family and was threatened by it a second time.

Summary of the text and philological notes.

- vv. 1-10 : Exordium and invocation of the Muse Thalia. The poet will bewail a plague, which has infested Scotland as a punishment sent from heaven because of a great fire in St. Giles's cathedral (v. 3 : *miseras aedes*) in Edinburgh.
- vv. 11-14 : This sad story happened in winter-time.
- vv. 15-20 : Fallacious Fortune turns her wheel : she first brings Scotland to the top but then, suddenly, to the bottom, where Death is coming in. Concerning this image of Fortune's wheel see W. Harms, "Reinhart Fuchs als Papst und Antichrist auf dem Rad der Fortuna", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 6 (1972), 418-440 and further literature quoted there on p. 425, n. 20.

- In v. 18 and v. 19 Foullis uses subjunctive forms instead of indicative for no other reason, it seems, than to fit the metre. Elsewhere he has other examples of awkward grammar caused by metrical necessities.
- vv. 21-26 : Death grasps a weapon, which is more dreadful than many others but has not been used for a long time. It can be aimed in all directions and its poisoned darts are deadly. This weapon is the plague.
- vv. 27-32 : Fame spreads the news of the arrival of this dreadful foe, against whom nobody can feel safe. Then follows a description of his appearance.
- vv. 33-42 : The plague expands throughout the country, bringing fear and terror everywhere. Its first victims are to be found in the poor huts of the country-people, but soon it is ravaging the town as well.
- vv. 43-82 : Moralizing reflections of the poet on the subject of his elegy : it may help to convert the young to a better way of life.
In vv. 43-46 he asks himself what he will do : it is a not unworthy subject to rehearse the tragedy of twelve years ago. Man in his misery always prefers sweet to bitter experiences. But if the poet will mourn what he saw as a youth, it may prompt the people to honour God better (vv. 47-58). Then he exhorts the Scots to read this poem, since they have as good reason to bewail their affliction as had (for example) Penelope or Niobe or the Trojans. If we sing the death of the Fabii or the occupation of Rome by the Gauls, why not then our own misery, which is so much closer to us? (vv. 59-82).
- v. 44 : Possibly *ora* may be a misprint for *ore*.
- vv. 83-96 : Geographical situation of the island of two warlike peoples : the Englishmen and the Scots.
v. 86 : Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, I.15 : 'Denique Brutus de nomine suo insulam Britanniam appellat, sociosque suos Britones'.
v. 91 : *Sidera pellicis* = the constellation Andromeda; *Thetys* = the sea.
v. 93 : *Scotis* is a feminine adjective to be connected with *tellus*.
- vv. 97-100 : The joy of seafarers coming home to Edinburgh.
- vv. 101-106 : But their cries of joy are out of place, since the plague is raging through the country.
- vv. 107-114 : Vain measures taken in the town to repress the disease : no traffic with neighbours and guards at the gates.
v. 113 : *calcaria* = the spurs.
- vv. 115-120 : But such expedients do not help, since the plague is a punishment of God, whose law has been violated.
v. 118 : *Natura* should be interpreted as an ablative ("by nature"), *vita* being the subject of both *leserit* and *recurva (est)*.
- vv. 121-148 : The poet now comes to a description of the impiety which caused the wrath of God. The *L* of *Lampada* (v. 121) is printed as an initial letter to mark the beginning of this part of the poem.
It was Easter Day (vv. 121-124). Foullis, before passing on to his story, introduces a description of the Christian Easter rites and joy (vv. 125-134) and expatiates on the complete decay of the pagan temples and their gods (vv. 135-144). Now the true faith is victorious (vv. 145-148).

- v. 138 : *Thyas*, a Bacchant.
- v. 144 : *Lotis*, a nymph loved by Priapus ("turpis amator").
- vv. 149-154 : At night the altar-flame causes a fire (in the cathedral of St. Giles), which burns the tabernacle.
- vv. 155-160 : At dawn the warden of the church, on opening the gates, discovers the disaster.
 - v. 155 : *Venus aurea*, the morning-star Lucifer. Cf. Cicero, *De natura deorum* II.53.
 - v. 156 : *Delius*, Apollo or the Sun.
- vv. 161-176 : Panic-stricken at the sight of the fire, the custodian flees in order to escape the scaffold. He obviously was persuaded that he would be held responsible for the disaster and that it was a hanging affair. Comparisons with two cruel punishments in ancient times (the Athenian Perillus roasted alive in the brazen bull he invented for Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum; Hippolytus dragged to death by his horses as a consequence of a false accusation by his stepmother Phaedra) conclude this passage.
- vv. 177-182 : People wonder why the bells do not toll. They believe that the sacristan is sleeping off the effects of yesterday's drunkenness. But while he is running away, the fire spreads on the altar.
- vv. 183-188 : The fire devours a precious retable made by artists as great as the painter Apelles and the sculptor Lysippus. This retable was opened only on holy days.
- vv. 189-200 : Description of the different scenes on the retable : the message of the angel Gabriel (vv. 189-190); Mary visiting Elisabeth (vv. 191-192); Mary nursing her child (vv. 193-194); Jesus growing up (v. 195) and how he was handed over to the enemy (v. 196); finally the grave of Christ (v. 200). All this, including the glittering gold used for the adornment of the Child, was burnt that night (vv. 197-199).
- vv. 201-208 : The poet invokes the help of Christ.
- vv. 209-212 : He wonders what the disaster may portend : did the plagues of Egypt come back?
- vv. 213-220 : One should speak no longer of the "omina" of ancient calamities : Hecuba, wife of Priamus, dreamt that she brought forth a torch, which was to burn Troy; Roman history has stories of pieces of meat coming down from heaven, cows speaking in human voice or lightning-flashes, which foretold a defeat at the moment the Volsci were being subdued to Rome (Many such stories can be read in Livy, in Julius Obsequens, *Prodigiorum liber*, and in Cicero, *De divinatione*).
- vv. 221-230 : Fire as an omen is much more worse than all the others. The poet shudders at the very thought of what could have happened, if the flames had devoured the host. It had been not only the end of Edinburgh, but of the whole world.
- vv. 231-241 : Invocation of St. Giles, patron of the town, whose feast is celebrated every year. He should take care of his people, once so cheerful and now oppressed by sorrow and death.
 - v. 240 : *Nisus*, the father of Scylla, was changed into a sparrow-hawk.

- vv. 242-257 : The plague reaches the suburbs. The poet introduces a series of comparisons on how infections contaminate and small evils spread.
- v. 248 : *orexis*, a rare word and obviously unknown to the printer (see apparatus criticus!) was probably taken by Foullis from Juvenal (Cf. VI. 428 and XI.127).
- vv. 252-256 : The poet now turns to his own experience of the plague : he has been a witness of many funerals.
- vv. 257-286 : Foullis's own story may be told as an example of what happened to many. He too has been a victim of the plague (vv. 257-260). While he himself was seriously ill (vv. 261-262), death carried away his small sister and his brother, and finally his parents too (vv. 263-266). He was taken in by his uncle James (cf. v. 271), his maternal uncle (v. 269) and most probably his godfather (cf. v. 270, where he is described as the baptizer of the child). This uncle was his support, just as a big tree might be for an elephant (vv. 274-275). The next four verses are very obscure but seem to explain that the uncle preserved and saved the family fortune of Foullis : *servet* probably stands, *metri causa*, for *servasset* (v. 277). The passage ends with praises of this good and honest man, thanks to whom Foullis now is able to be a poet.
- vv. 287-308 : This part of the poem is a conclusion of the poet's own story and at the same time a transition to a further description of the calamity : since the poet's vessel took the water, let it go through the dangers of the sea! Death is the pilot (vv. 287-290). But no legendary evil (Charybdis and Scylla; the Cyclops Polyphemus; monsters such as the Arcadian Lycaon and the Roman Cacus) can be more terrible than the plague : *experto crede*! It paralyses a whole people.
- With v. 309 a new part of the poem begins, as is clearly indicated by the P of Phebus, printed as an initial. VV. 309-352 describe the plague as raging during the summer.
- vv. 309-312 : it was the dog-days and harvest-time.
- v. 310 : *Molorchus* = Molorchus. This adjective occurs once in ancient Latin literature, namely in v. 13 of the anonymous *Panegyricus Messallae* (= Corpus Tibullianum, IV.1) : "Quin etiam Alcides, deus adscensus Olympum/Laeta Molorchis posuit vestigia tectis". Molorchus was a poor man from near Nemea, who entertained Hercules before he killed the lion. See Servius's commentary to Virgil, *Georg.* III.19 (ed. G. Thilo - H. Hagen, vol. I, 275) : "Molorchus autem pastor fuit, qui Herculem, venientem ad occidendum Nemeaeum leonem, suscepit hospitio."
- Mr. L. P. Wilkinson (King's College, Cambridge) indicated to us the verse of the *Panegyricus*.
- vv. 313-324 : The Dog (a female to the poet : cf. v. 313 and 317) is notoriously apt to cause sickness. But now she seems insatiable and voracious as never before.
- vv. 325-352 : the disease grows worse and people flee from the town (vv. 325-336). Looking down from the hills they bemoan their dreadful situation (vv. 337-352).
- v. 339 : *Ramnusia* = Nemesis. The goddess Nemesis had her temple at Rhamnus in Attica.

- vv. 353-376 : By means of mythological and historical comparisons Foullis tries to make it clear that the world never saw greater disasters. V. 353 : It may be that when he wrote this verse Foullis was thinking of the very famous mediaeval poem, ascribed to Hildebert de Lavardin that begins :
Pergama flere volo, fato Danaïs data solo.
- v. 367-368 : an allusion to a famous incident between the ancient Romans and the warriors of Brennus during the Gallic conquest of Rome in 390 B.C. See Livy, V. 41.
- v. 374 : *Cecropis* = Athenian. The line alludes to the battle of Salamis.
- v. 375 : *Hamilcarides* = Hannibal.
- v. 376 : *Elissa* = Dido, queen of Carthage.
- vv. 377-416 : Description of the universal desolation of the country : there is no business and no administration of justice (vv. 377-382). Nobody listens to the nightingale, takes care of the house or tends the garden, since everything is marked by the symbols of Death (vv. 383-390). Nor does anybody have eyes for girls; nay, everyone is wearing mourning-clothes (vv. 391-394). There is no playing at games of ball and hardly any seafaring (vv. 395-398). Also the countryside is affected by this great sorrow, as can be seen by the changed customs of the shepherds (vv. 399-404). And even the funerals are not attended in the usual way by the relatives of the deceased (vv. 405-410). Rich and poor are buried in the same grave and everyone is as desperate as the wife, who takes leave of her husband marching against the enemy (vv. 411-416).
- v. 404 : The meaning of this verse is unclear. Foullis put a comma between *adest* and *nulla*.
- v. 417-480 : The poet makes a long appeal to the mercy of God, that he may stop the plague, since, if He wishes to do so, He has the power to do it (vv. 417-474). If they are saved, they will go to the sanctuary of the Holy Virgin to honour her with candles (vv. 475-477). A short prayer to the Mother of God concludes this appeal for help (vv. 478-480).
- v. 427 : *Fatidicus vates*, the prophet Jeremiah or another penitential prophet of Israel. V. 428 is too general a formula to allow more certainty.
- vv. 481-496 : Epilogue. The poet begs his Muse to put an end to her laments since, in fact, it is quite impossible to mourn and to sing adequately to the frightful character of this calamity.

— *Poem II*

This poem is a Sapphic ode in honour of St Margaret, queen of Scotland (ca. 1046-1093). It may be noticed that, when Foullis was writing it, another Margaret (Tudor) was queen of Scotland.

- vv. 1-4 : The poet offers his modest poem at the altar and requests the help of Margaret.
- vv. 5-8 : He invites the Muse Clio to sing exclusively in honour of the saint. These honours are of greater value (*pluris*) than the swan with white feathers or the gold which impregnated Danaë (allusions to the stories of Jupiter and Leda and Danaë).

- vv. 9-20 : Foullis evokes the image of Scotland, a faraway country, only to be reached by boat, wind-swept, cold and dark in winter-time.
 v. 11 : *Scotis* (viz. : terra). -v. 13 : *Doris* = the sea (a borrowing from Virgil). -vv. 17-18 : *Triviae* (= *Dianae*) *pallor*, the moonlight; *frater* : Apollo or the Sun, brother of Diana; *Thetis* : a Nereid (cf. v. 13 : *Doris*), hence, the sea. -vv. 19-20 : *Sole referente currus (a) Cancro* : Cancer was the constellation of the summer solstice.
- vv. 21-28 : Praises of the royal greatness and the sweetness of Margaret, wife of king Malcolm III.
- vv. 29-36 : This paean sings Margaret, who is mightier than the warlike widow of Ninus (Semiramis) or Tamyris, who slew Cyrus to avenge her son. Those queens shed blood to win glory.
 v. 30 : *Bellicâ Nini* (viduâ), viz. Semiramis. Cf. Justinus, *Hist. Philipp.*, I. 2.8. : "Non contenta adquisitos viro regni terminos tueri, Aethiopiam quoque imperio adiecit". -vv. 31-32 : The story of Cyrus, who killed the son of Tamyris, queen of the Scyths, and thereupon was slain by the boy's mother, is told by the same Justinus, I.8.
 vv. 37-40 : Margaret, on the contrary, brought peace to Scotland.
- vv. 41-48 : Description of Margaret's external beauty : She has long and fair hair, and, if adorned with the proper attire, could be a Venus (*Olympo/fervida*). So at least we understand the text, the style of which is extremely awkward and obscure : see e.g. the change of moods in vv. 46-47, the reason for which can only be metrical difficulties.
- vv. 49-52 : But Margaret hated Venus and was chaster than Pandora, the first woman according to Greek mythology and the origin of all evils on earth.
- vv. 53-56 : Often Margaret spent whole nights in prayer.
- vv. 57-60 : She herself nursed her children, lest other food might corrupt them.
- vv. 61-64 : These are the most obscure verses in the whole poem. The original edition bears a question-mark or exclamation-mark in v. 62 after *ravior*. V. 61 therefore seems to be an address to Margaret as queen (*Virgo trabeata*). She is *ravior* (either "remarkable, because of" ... or "more remarkable than" ...). But how are we to understand the nest of the Phoenix in this context? Did the poet intend to make a comparison with Edinburgh Castle? In the poem Phoenix ascribed to Lactantius (Cf. *Minor Latin Poets*, ed. J. Wight Duff and A. M. Duff, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1954), pp. 643-665), vv. 77-88, one reads how this bird — a symbol of Christian life in the Middle Ages — builds and decorates its nest with all the riches of the world.
 If this interpretation is correct, the next verses may be an allusion to the building of the Norman Chapel of the Castle by Margaret in 1076 : *cumula(ve)ris mirâ mole aedes scandentes liquidum aera, laudi Tonantis* — You have capped the towering castle with a magnificent building to the honour of God.
- vv. 65-72 : After her death Margaret has been buried in a golden coffin, which outshines the "Rhodopean pyramid".

- v. 66 : *Sorores*, Parcae. -v. 67 : *reducens* stands for *rediens* or *reducta*.
 -v. 68 : *mittere auras* - *emittere animam*. -v. 70 : The comparison of the coffin (*arca*) and a pyramid is not exaggerated, since in the late Middle Ages pyramids were thought of as coffins and not as the huge Egyptian monuments. See E. Martellotti, "Piramidi", *Studi Petrarqueschi*, 6 (1956), 35-42. The adjunct *Rhodopeia-Thracian* is rather queer. Did Foullis perhaps have in mind some verses as Lucan VI.618, where one reads *Rhodopeaque saxa...*? More commonly *Rhodopeius* refers to Orpheus.
- vv. 73-76 : Until the present day, people persist in worshipping St Margaret and come on pilgrimage to her sanctuary.
- vv. 77-80 : She is the patron of mothers in labour, and from heaven she often soothes pains.
 v. 80 *levis* : seems to be a wrong second person form of the verb *linere* (pf., *levi*), to rub with ointment, to soothe. It seems to be a contamination of pres. *linis* and pf. *lëvisti*. The adjective *levis* does not make sense here. There may be a further confusion with *lëvare* (alleviate).
- vv. 82-88 : The poet is unable to sing the praises of Margaret appropriately, even with the help of Pallas, the voice of Stentor, or as many voices as Argus has eyes.
- vv. 89-108 : A final prayer to Margaret that she may protect ships sailing on the dangerous sea to Scotland.
- vv. 89-95 : We are living in a dark country, where the sea is dangerous. v. 93 : From this verse we may conclude that the hymn was written by the poet on a homeward voyage. -vv. 95-96 : Caphareus and Nauplius : see Hyginus, *Fabulae* cxvi : when the Greek fleet returned home from Troy Nauplius, son of Neptune, lit false lights at Cape Caphareus in the island of Euboea so that the ships were wrecked on the rocks.
- vv. 97-108 : A prayer for sunshine and favourable winds.
 v. 106 : Cynosura, the Lesser Bear or Pole-star. -vv. 107-108 : *intus currere* : seems to be a literal rendering into Latin of an expression such as "to run in", "to put in".

— Poem III

- A moralizing poem on the theme how easily merchants become cuckolds.
- vv. 1-11^a : A general description of the town, its population and magnificent buildings.
 -v. 8 : *indicem* : the gilded cock on the spire of a church-tower.
- vv. 11^b-21 : But the merchant on the sea gives his young and wanton wife all the finery she asks for, but it only adds fuel to the fire.
 v. 14 : *Gaetulo*, North-African, viz. Carthaginian, hence Phoenician.
 -v. 16 : *hernicus* : possibly a British Latin word derived from the root *hern-/harn-*, meaning *to decorate*, *to mount*. The Hernici, an old people of Latium, cannot be in question here.
- vv. 22-25 : The merchant fears the fate of Candaulis. The famous story of the Lydian king, who showed his wife naked to his companion Gyges, is told by Herodotus, I.8-12, and Justinus, I.7.14-19.

- vv. 26-31 : If your wife is a handsome woman it is dangerous to show her so to the world; she is wearing precious dresses, whereas you are hardly covered.
- vv. 32-39 : When her husband is at sea, she often behaves herself more as Helen (*Tyndaris*) than as Penelope. There are many men like Clodius (a Roman politician; Caesar's wife Pompeia was his mistress).

— *Poem IV*

This poem addresses the royal secretary Patrick Panther as a humanist and patron of poets.

Panther, born ca. 1470, was entrusted with the education of Alexander Stewart by James IV. The same king gave him the post of royal secretary in 1505, which appointment offers a date *post quem* for this poem. In his capacity as royal secretary he wrote the Latin state letters, on which his reputation as a Latin writer still rests. Therefore Foullis's praise of his style is somewhat more than mere words. On May 17, 1517 Panther left Scotland for France on a mission to Francis I. Two years later he died in Paris.

Two distichs of this poem, viz. the refrain and vv. 7-8, can be read as separate epigrams in Edinburgh University Library.

- vv. 1-4 : Address to Panther, glory of the Muses.
- vv. 5-12 : Panther is a humanist, who knows Virgil (*Mincigena vates*) and Homer, lives like Cato and speaks elegant Latin.
- vv. 13-20 : Comparison between an old and practised gladiator (Panther) on one side, and a beginner (Foullis) on the other.
- vv. 21-28 : The poet begs for Panther's aid against jealous ill-will.
- vv. 29-36 : Finally, Foullis offers his modest verses to his protector. In v. 31 *Maeonius*, which means "Homeric", is used in rather awkward connection with *cothurnis*, a common metaphor for dramatic poetry. -v. 32 : *Threicius* = Orphic. -v. 36 : we have corrected *tuum* to *tuam*. The poet quite obviously forgot to change the gender when, this time, he altered *aspectum* into *dextram* in the refrain of his poem.

— *Poem V*

A poem in praise of learning and, in particular, of jurisprudence. It is dedicated to James Hay, doctor of canon law and afterwards abbot of Dundrennan.

- vv. 1-20 : Courage brings glory. This statement is proved by a list of crowns the Romans used to grant to their heroes, and by the example of the Greek Cynaegirus.

A full list and a description of the Roman "militares coronae" is to be found in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, V.vi. This author, widely read in humanist circles about 1500, was clearly the source of Foullis in this poem. Foullis's dependance on Gellius is also illustrated by his use of the word *pensiculatus* in the preface, § 12. See J. C. Rolfe's edition in the Loeb Classical Library (London, 1954), vol. I, 390-397. We quote here the more important passages. Vv. 3-4 = Gell., V.vi.5 : "Triumphales coronae sunt aureae, quae imperatoribus ob honorem triumphii

- mittuntur." -vv. 5-6 = Gell., *ibid.*, 8-10 : "Obsidionalis est, quam ii qui liberati obsidione sunt, dant ei duci, qui liberavit... Hanc coronam gramineam S.P.Q.R. Quinto Fabio Maximo (= *Cunctator*) dedit bello Poenorum secundo." -vv. 7-8 = Gell., *ib.*, 16 : "Muralis est..., qua donatur... qui primus murum subiit... idcirco quasi muri pinnis decorata est." -vv. 9-10 = Gell., *ib.*, 17 : "Castrensis est corona, qua donat imperator eum, qui primus hostium castra pugnans introivit." -vv. 11-12 = Gell., *ib.*, 11-12 : "Civica corona appellatur, quam civis civi a quo in proelio servatus est... dat. Ea fit e fronde quercea." -vv. 13-14 = Gell., *ib.*, 20-21 : "Ovalis corona murtea est; ea utebantur imperatores qui ovantes urbem introibant. Ovandi ac non triumphandi causa est... hostium nomen humile..." -v. 15 = Gell., *ib.*, 18 : "Navalis est, qua donari solet maritimo proelio, qui primus in hostium navem armatus transiluit." -vv. 16-18 : The story of the Athenian hero Cynegirus fighting against the Persian fleet is told e.g. by Justinus, II. ix.16-19.
- vv. 21-24 : Also learning has its merits and its glory. V. 22 is a pentameter without diaeresis such as are found sometimes in Catullus. -v. 23 : *Tritonia* = Minerva.
- vv. 25-38 : There are various paths to the glory of scholarship, such as grammar, logic, astronomy, medicine or poetry. -v. 27 : *Praesaga mater* = Carmenta. v. 29 : *gryppis* = griphis. Cf. Aulus Gellius, I.ii.4.
- vv. 39-44 : Many, and among them James Hay, take to the study of law. -v. 40 : *Allicet* is probably a printing error for *Allicit*, but could also be a wrong form for *Alliciet*, which is metrically impossible. Since Foullis has other instances of irregular verbal forms, we have not thought ourselves entitled to change the text.
- vv. 45-54 : An encomium of jurisprudence. -v. 51 : *Philippus* : unidentified.
- vv. 55-60 : A lament on the wickedness of men, because of which Astraea, daughter of Jupiter and Themis, has left the earth and returned to heaven : Cf. Ovid, *Metam.*, I. 105 and Juvenal, VI.19. She became the constellation Virgo (cfr. v. 59).
- vv. 61-70 : Hay, however, venerates this goddess of justice. -v. 68 : *Iacenda* = *iacienda*, another example of a wrong verbal form, *metri causa*. -v. 68 : *Gemino foro* : civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

— Poem VI

A complimentary poem for Remaclus Arduenna of Florennes. Remaclus was born about 1480 at Florennes, a fortress in the territory of the prince-bishop of Liège in the Ardennes, and now a small Belgian town. He went to Liège and Cologne, where he published his first verses : *Epigrammaton libri tres* (1507). On this work see E. Juste, "Notice sur les épigrammes latines de Remacle d'Ardenne (1507)", *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, IV (1855-1856), 169-197. In 1509 he came to Mechlin, where he served Aloysius Bontianus, a member of the court. In February 1510 he followed this man on his embassy to Scotland but he seems to have stayed in London, where he taught in a school and wrote his drama *Palamedes*. The dedicatory letter to Petrus Griphus, vice-collector of the papal revenues in England, is dated on

the first of January 1512. It was printed in London by Richard Pynson in 1512, and together with two books of poems on Our Lord's passion in the same year at Paris by Gilles de Gourmont, the same who published Foullis's verses. In fact, Remaclus went to Paris in 1512, where he came under the influence of Faustus Andrelinus, as is clearly shown by his *Amorum libri tres*, in which he sings of his love for the girl Jordana. [On Andrelinus see now Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, *Publius Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviensis. Leven, Werk en kritische geannoteerde editie van de "Livia"*, 2 vols., Unpubl. Dissert. (Leuven, 1973)]. The dedicatory letter to Georgius Haloinus, Lord of Komen, is dated from Paris, *pridie Kalendas Martias* of the year 1513, Roman style. There is no modern study of Remaclus. See *inter alia*, H. De Vocht, *Jérôme de Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue. His Life and Writings*. Humanistica Lovaniensia, vol. 9 (Turnhout, 1950), pp. 218-222.

After the publication of his *Amores* Remaclus came back to Mechlin to become a secretary of the emperor and the court. He died in that town on 13th May 1524 and was buried in the church of St Peter and St Paul.

* * *

To say the truth the chronology of the contacts between Foullis and Arduenna causes serious difficulties. Foullis's poem V is certainly to be connected with a scarcely known work (De Vocht ignores it completely) of the Walloon poet, viz. his "*Aegloga. Collocutores Silvanus, Floridus, Corydon*" (see v. 18 of Foullis's poem!), printed also without date by de Gourmont and of which a copy survives in the British Library (M 1213 f. 44).

An accompanying letter explains that Foullis intended to insert this eclogue among his own poetry, but that Arduenna declines that proposition since the poem is only a first and rough draft, written as an "argumentum" for a greater work which he calls *Scotohnauticum* and which seems to be a kind of historical drama on Scottish affairs still to be written. (See also the verses 19-20 of Foullis's poem!). All this supposes, of course, a certain period of more intimate literary friendship between Remaclus and Foullis. Now this letter is dated "Ex cubiculo nostro, Nonis Januariis". This 7th January can hardly be 1513 because then Foullis's book would not have been printed before 1513, which seems too late. But on the other hand Remaclus's preface to his edition of *Palamedes* is dated on January 1, 1512 "ex Musaeo nostro exiguo London." Even if we assume that Remaclus did not follow the English dating style in London — which would bring us to 1513 — it is impossible that in less than a week he travelled from London to Paris, made the acquaintance of Foullis and the Scottish nation, wrote the Ecloga, etc. Therefore (and unless we assume again that Foullis's book was printed in 1513) the date of the London edition of Remaclus' *Palamedes* must be either fictitious or wrong (1512 instead of 1511).

The Eclogue of Remaclus is published below, pp. 153-160.

— Poem VI

A short farewell poem to a friend, Johannes Noctuinus, who is leaving Paris.

— *Poem VII*

Foullis begs a friend not to scorn him because he is not rich. Moreover wealth and honesty rarely go together. After this statement the last distich rather unexpectedly expresses Foullis's hope that some day he will be richer.

— *Poem VIII*

An exhortation to a young Scotsman, George Henryson, to devote himself to poetry as a source of everlasting fame. The piece is written and printed in an acrostich form: IACOBI F (ollisii) G(eorgio).

These verses had already appeared as the last of a series of three poems by Foullis printed in Robert Caubraith, *Quadrupertitum*. There is only one variant reading, viz. in v. 1 *puer o* instead of *iuenis*, in order to suit the age of Henryson in 1512 as compared to 1509.

— *Poem IX*

Two verses to present the page of *errata* to the reader.

— *Scattered Poems**Poem 1-a*

A malediction on an envious critic.

- v. 4 : *Nyctimene*, according to one version of her story, a daughter of king Epopeus of Lesbos. After she had been violated by her father, Minerva changed her into a screech-owl. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.*, II. 590-595 and Hyginus, *Fabulae*, cciv. v. 5 : *Pythius* clearly does not have its usual meaning of "belonging to Apollo". Foullis understands it as an adjective to the name of the serpent Python, killed by Apollo. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.*, I 438-444 : "... Python.../...serpens.../Hunc deus arcitenens.../Perdidit effuso per vulnera nigra veneno."
- v. 7 : *Ringas* : Probably under the influence of Roman Comedy (Plautus), active forms of the deponent verb *ringi* are not unknown in the humanist Latin of Foullis's time. Cf. J. J. Pontanus, *De Sermone* (edd. S. Lupi et A. Risicato, Lugano, 1954), I.18, 6 : "qui maximis quibusque ringeret auctoribus..."; J. L. Vives, *De Subventionem pauperum* (ed. A. Saitta, Firenze, 1973), I.viii (pp. 29-30) : "proximus tuus frigore ringit".

Poem 1-b

A laudatory poem singing the praise of Robert Caubraith and directed to his pupil Thomas Bellenden, a young Scotsman of good family.

- v. 3 : *Cato*, probably the Stoic Cato Uticensis rather than the elder Cato the Censor, who was thought of as hostile to Greek culture.
- v. 4 : *bifido sinu* is an allusion to the geographical position of Greece between Athens and Corinth, i.e. to the *Sinus Corinthiacus* and the *Sinus Saronicus*. *alumna* here has an active meaning, which Foullis probably found in Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, e.g. I. 86 : "Ceres, admodum gravis femina alumnaque terrarum ac nutrix mortalium".
- v. 5 : *Doris*, the sea (from the name of a nymph).

- v. 9 : *Zenonicus*, philosophical (from Zeno, the founder of Stoicism).
- v. 14 : In bringing together the name of two wines (*Chia Falerna*) Foullis most probably had in mind the verse of Horace, *Satires*, I.x.24 : "Suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est". We cannot explain the term *Arvisii*.
- v. 17 : From this verse we may gather that Caubraith wrote a poem in honour of his pupil.
- v. 19 : Bellenden is studying logic (*dialectica*) under his master Caubraith.
- v. 20 : Continues the same idea as v. 19, the *patrius sophus* being Caubraith. As shown by the metre, *lima* is an ablative depending on *pumificata*, a less usual word for *polita*. The image of a literary work polished by a file is very common in ancient poetry : cf. Horace, *Ars poetica*, 291 ("limae labor"), Ovid, *Tristia*, I.7.30 ("Defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis"), etc.
- v. 21 : An allusion to the story of the newly born Cyrus as told by Justinus, I.iv.6-10 : "Natus infans datur occidendus Harpago... Is... pastori regii pecoris puerum exponendum tradit ... Eius igitur uxor, audita regii infantis expositione, summis precibus rogat sibi perferri ostendique puerum...; pastor reversus in silvam invenit iuxta infantem canem feminam parvulo ubera praebentem..."
- v. 22 : Amalthaea, nurse of Jupiter, often described as a she-goat. Her horns were flowing with nectar and ambrosia : hence the *Cornu copiae*.

Poem 2

The whole poem is a praise of Scotland and the Scottish people. The contrast with Jupiter's description of the same country in poem 3 is striking.

There are no problems of interpretation. The *Soror* of v. 22 obviously is Atropos, who severs the thread of life.

It is not clear whether there is an initial J hidden among the flourishes in each of the two signatures.

Poem 3

This poem is clearly written on the occasion of James V's assumption of power in Scotland (1528) and most probably printed at the same time. The central piece of the poem is a letter sent by Jupiter to Apollo, beseeching the god of the sun to cherish Scotland, which after a period of evil and corruption will return to peace and justice under the new king.

- v. 7 : If Foullis is the author of this poem, he alludes here to his long silence. In fact we do not know of any poem between 1512 and this *strena*. On the other hand a man capable of writing this poem cannot have abandoned Latin versification for more than fifteen years. He certainly continued his private readings in, and composition of, verses.
- v. 10 : *Fecerit* instead of *Fecit* : Such confusion of moods was a typical linguistic feature of Foullis's earlier poems published in Paris.
- vv. 13-14 : Jupiter sends Mercury with a letter to Apollo.
- v. 21 : The ending of the verse ("pollice ceram") is identical with that of Ovid, *Metam.* VIII.198 (story of Icarus).

- vv. 31-32 : An allusion to the battle of Flodden Field, 9 September 1513, where James IV and most of the Scottish nobility were killed.
- vv. 33 sqq. : According to this poem the time of the regency of James V's mother and of James Stewart was characterised by disorder and lawlessness.
- v. 54 : *Ancus* (the fourth king of Rome), *pacis amator*, *non (clarior) pace fuit* (*quam erit Jacobus quintus*).
- v. 62 : *Aeacides*, Achilles, son of *Aeacus*.
- vv. 73 sqq. : The last part of the poem describes the future of Scotland as a new "aetas aurea". The idea of such a moral and material renewal after a period of decay and corruption can be found e.g. in Virgil's fourth eclogue. On the other hand descriptions of the "aurea aetas" occur frequently in Latin poetry. Foullis certainly knew several of them, e.g. that at the beginning of Ovid's first book of *Metamorphoses*.

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THE ECLOGUE OF REMACLUS ARDUENNA

The text of this edition is based upon the (unique?) copy in the British Library (M 1213 f. 44). The transcription was made by Prof. Thomson. We thank Mr. J. Durkan, who called our attention to this forgotten work. It is not mentioned by W. L. Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill, 1965).

In order to make the text more readable we have modernised the punctuation. For the chronological problem connected with this text we refer the reader to the comment on Foullis's poem to Remaclus in our edition of Foullis's poetry, pp. 148-149 above.

The Eclogue itself records the qualities of James IV of Scotland : his peaceful and wise rule until challenged by English raids upon the borders of the realm; his defeat of the invading cavalry, and restoration of peace and prosperity to his people (James is seen as the supreme shepherd, his people as the flock). The king is named (v. 72 *Jacobus*), but is also identified by his royal coat of arms (lion rampant; unicorns as supporters)¹, just as the English are identified by their leopards, and by the mention of the Thames (v. 104).

The style is extremely conventional, and there are echoes of Virgil and also of Horace. Rhetorical devices borrowed from Virgil's Eclogues include the "adynaton" (verses 142 sqq.) and the extended simile (verses 129 sqq.) etc. The name *Silvanus* suggests a knowledge of Petrarch's *Bucolicum opus*, which was widely read in the Netherlands about 1500.

Remacli Arduenne Florenatis Aegloga.
Collocutores : *Silvanus, Floridus, Corydon.*

*

— *Prefatory letter on verso of title page :*

Remaclus Arduenna Florenas Jacobo Follisio *Salutem.*

Stellionem potius quam furem te censuerim, Jacobe cultissime,
quod inter tuos illos tam politos et examinatos versus nostrum

l. 1 Arduenne, P; *correximus.*

¹ Cf Sir Th. Innes of Learney, *Scots Heraldry* (Edinburgh -London, 1934), plate XXXVIII and fig. 99 (p. 213).

furfurem interseras; verum tuo nos joco in ostentum proponis,
 ut nostrorum deformitate magis elucescant formosi tui catuli. Atqui
 5 faverem prolixè tam libero furto, sinon et alium in eo lederes, imo
communis hec est iniuria : quod *enim* voluptati & cogitatu meo
 indulgens, imo vero summi Regis contemplatione ebrius mersus
 obrutus conscripseram, nullo iudicio, nullo studio, rem statim
 factam putasti, quæ certe primis adhuc malleis erat obnoxia. Accedit
 10 quod abrupta passim est materia, et quam in argumentum Scotho-
 nautici nostri velut archetypum effinxeram, neque vero in hos usus
 ut prodirent. Sed mihi tantum et Musis cecineram. Patiar tamen
 equanimiter istam iniuriam ut quoque pacto Regi omnium belli-
 cosissimo, omnium eruditissimo sane et immortalis, testis adsim tot
 15 perspicuis eius virtutibus quorumcumque ingenia succumbere.
 Vale ex Cubiculo nostro. Nonis Januarij.

— *Text* :

Actus primus pastorico velamento precenset argumenti parte, quam
 nec aliis personis explicito opus erat, nec taceri sequentibus accomoda
 debuit.

Sylvanus, Floridus, Corydon :

(aii)

SIL. : Floride, dum cytiso vacue florente capelle
 Uberibus reparant alimenta exhausta solutis,
 Vicinum pariter Corydonis eamus ad antrum.
 Doctior hoc nemo est, tenues inflare cicutas
 5 Et fidibus causare sonos; tibi fistula collo
 Dependens socio modulabitur ordine carmen.
 FLO. : Sponte sequor; volupe est Corydonem audire canentem.
 Ergo carpe viam. SIL. : Pedibus perniciter ibo!
 En sedet oblitus fidium, ceu deside somno
 10 Languidus. Exurgas teque expergiscere, pastor,
 Orpheo melior, licet Orpheus audiat ipse.
 COR. : Si residere iuvat pendente sedilia saxo,
 Et tectas dabimus viridanti cespiti glebas.
 Hic est aura animo gratissima : rivus aquoso
 15 Murmure demulcet sopitus garrulus aures.
 FLO. : Hic ego procumbam spatiosa fusus in herba.

1. 11 Scothonâtici, P; *emendavit IJsewijn, probante Thomson* (cf. Argonauticum!)

1. 13 tamen, P; tantum, *Thomson*.

- COR. : Nunc causam monstrate vie, si causa vie sit.
- SIL. : Iam pecus, o Corydon, armentaque leta frequentant (aii)
 Pascua, iam molles inter lascivior hedos
- 20 Agna salit, cytisi vel immemor, et sua pandens
 Ubra lactantes gustatum provocat agnos.
 Iam timor agricolis parcit, maturaque tutus
 Grana legit messor autumnalesque maniplos.
 Quin etiam vestis pastorum culta domusque
- 25 Munditiis simplex et mense obnoxia laute.
 Cesserunt litui, predatricesque caterve;
 Armorum nullus miseros circumsonat horror.
 Pastores pax alta ligat fremitumque coercet
 Mavors; deliciis inter rurestria mixtis
- 30 Otia securi deducunt lenta coloni.
 Quo freti genio dulces consumitis horas?
- COR. : Est, Silvane, deus quo freti dulcibus horis
 Utimur; ille iubet placide servire quieti
 Oppida, fallaces sublato milite tollit
- 35 Insidias; passim quinquatria festa choreis
 Dant operam, genioque suo laribusque litantes
 Agricole plenis celebrant convivia vicis.
- SIL. : Miror que novitas animos demulceat istos.
 Nam neque solliciti de paupertate fameque,
- 40 Sed quasi perpetuo despument prela falerno,
 Baccaque mellitas ultro producat olivas,
 Nec renovatus ager gravibus ditescat aristis. (aiii)
 Sic molles rediere ioci, sic aurea fervent
 Secula; non galee, non enses aut mala belli
- 45 Damna suas audent his interponere curas.
 Bacchus ubique tener cyathos & longa propinat
 Pocula, frigus iners & semper vilis egestas
 Et cure ultrices et dura exactio cessant.
 Si potes istius, quecumque est tanta voluptas,
- 50 Participem reddas, avidumque explere memento.

V. 17 vix si, P.

V. 35 sesta, P.

V. 43 loci, P.

V. 48 eure, P.

- COR. : Audieras olim Pestana rosaria fetum
 Celestem genuisse orbi? gemmamque decentem
 Regali fudisse toro? qua preside terris
 Leticiam et pacem tranquillam fata parabant?
- FLO. : Nonne rosam signas Anglo de stipite natam?
 56 Que micat adverso ceu purpura sole refulgens?
- COR. : Rem capis : excrevit tandem nimioque decore
 Nobilitata suas ad vires reddidit orbem
 Attonitum, totis et de regionibus omnes
 60 Pastores venere, quibus vel mascula virtus
 Aut illustre genus aut vasta potentia terre;
 Pro tali certare bono permisit ut illam
 Inserirer victor dominante superbus in horto,
 Germine deque novo caperet plantaria pulchra,
 65 Augeretque rosas tali propagine rubras.
 (aiii*) Conatus Gallos delusit, & hispidus histrix
 Margarides interque rose procumbere natas
 Non valuit, lectaque suum redimire galerum.
 Utque loquar paucis, tanto prelatus honori
 70 Vir fuit & forma pulcherrimus & pietate
 Primus, & ardenti nulli virtute secundus.
 Si genus exquiras, prisci de stirpe Iacobi
 Emicuit gratumque tenet sibi nomen ab illo.
 Aut si me ratio fallit, clarissima certe
 75 Edidit hunc alvus regnoque illustris avito.
 Aspice terribilem quod gestet in egide vultum,
 Cristatusque leo rapido fervore iubatos
 Extendit cervice thoros geminusque minatur
 Hinc atque hinc de fronte monocheros aurea collo,
 80 Cui torquis mediumque remordet fibula guttur.
- SIL. : Sed mihi pastoris memores vitamque modumque,
 Et quibus auspiciis sua septa gubernet ovesque,
 Quam fecunda habeant ad pastum pabula, quod sit
 Harum opus an solo promittant vellere fructum.
- COR. : Difficilem campum cogis me intrare nec istis

V. 56 sola, P.

V. 78 geiusque, P.

V. 81 vitaeque, P.

V. 85 intare, P.

- 86 Imponendum humeris, sed quando obnixius oras
Expediam dulcique animam novitate tenebo.
- SIL. : Quin age lenta dies nobis indulget : ad undam
Non sic cervus abit sitibundus ubi atra canum vis
- 90 Hunc pressit, nec sic ineunt nova fulcra marite, (aiiii)
Ut gestit mihi mens miracula discere tanta.
- COR. : Sepe truces iras & multa pericula passi
Istius fundi pastores; arva redacta
In cineres, humilesque casas radicitus ictas
- 95 Lugebant; nimis heu multis meminisse necesse est
Exuvias vidisse suas auferrier, et vi
Dulcibus a mammis deploravere tenellos
Avelli fetus matres, duraque ligari
Compede cum dominis servitum immitibus irent.
- SIL. : Impietas quae tanta fuit, furialiter audens
- 101 Tam bellum violare gregem, crudoque furore
Sedibus e patriis mites arcere columbas;
Hostis apertus an insidias meditatus atroces?
- COR. : Centauri e lustris Tamesis venere feroces
- 105 Et rabide tigres et sanguinei leopardi :
Praecipue hi nostras infestavere bidentes;
Non impune tamen! Nostris ab ovilibus hedi
Aeripedes, hedi tollentes cornua ferro
Prefixa horribilem subito statuere phalangem,
- 110 Monstraque collatis hec devicere manipulis.
Sepius edomiti pugna multoque dolore
Affecti veniam subito petiere rebelles
Centauri. Sed enim bellare monocheros hedis
Utile suadebant, finesque lacessere pugna
- 115 Hostiles, paribusque agros affligere damnis. (aiiii✓)
Dux leo dat belli signum, subitoque tumultu
Pugnaces crevere animi sevitque iuventus
Effera non flammis, non ferro et sanguini parcens
Multorum potitur spoliis : diruit arces,
- 120 Obsidione premit saltus, clausa oppida rumpit,
Urit agros, urit segetes, armenta remotis

V. 86 imponedû, P.

V. 117 iunenus, P.

- E silvis abigit; tanta est vindicta leonis!
 Ecce malo docti de deditione loquuntur
 Tunc humiles pardi, nec quos cognoscere posses :
 125 Sic sunt suppliciiis attriti. Fletibus ora
 Consumunt, veniam bello finemque petentes.
 Ut leo pugnanti nunquam concedere novit,
 Sic parcit domitis hosque in sua regna remittit.
- SIL. : Qualiter e tenebris venienti lux placet, utque
 130 Unda sitim passo cum sicca canicula fissos
 Torret agros, requies ut iucundissima fesso,
 Ut pratis imber marcentibus, alme poeta,
 Est carmen sic dulce tuum. sed perge recensens
 Promissum pastoris opus generosaque gesta.
- COR. : Floridus heroi meditator carminis edet
 136 Doctius insignes lauris victricibus odas.
 Floride, dic aliquid; nostras concentibus aures
 (unsigned) Plecti tuis; calamos digna argumenta sequuntur.
- FLO. : Quid facis, ah demens; humeris da pondera nostris
 140 Congrua! tu levibus verum sortitus honorem
 In desperatam cogis me intrare Carybdim.
 Nam prius in celsis delphines montibus ibunt,
 Oceanus nutribit apros, sua flumina Nilus
 Vertet ab Egypto, Padusque Hircana rigabit
 145 Arva tumens, pontus nigro subsidet Averno,
 Quam scribi valeat pastoris regia virtus.
 Ille deos si fas est vincere, vicit et equat,
 Fas si equare deos; & si colit India Bacchum,
 Si Thebe Alciden, si verna Canopus Osyrim,
 150 Si colit Aeneam gens Itala, quis neget aras
 Huic quoque semideo, cuius sunt munera tanta
 In genus humanum, que nec corrodere livor
 Audeat aut veniens posthac abolere vetustas.
 Laudat Aristiden multus favor : ille potentis
 155 Iustitie defensor erat, rigidusque satelles,
 Sed quem vix potuit miseratio mesta nocentum
 Flectere; celestis repetens mandata Iacobus

V. 122 Esilius abigit, P.

V. 151 Hic, P.

- Numinis & novit modicis ignoscere lapsis,
 Carceribus sontes cohibere aut dedere morti,
 160 Exaltare bonos, gladio punire nephastos,
 Oppressos relevare & debellare superbos;
 Non odio frendens lucrive cupidine captus
 Iudicium evertit, sed perstans omnibus equus (verso)
 Absolvit rixas iurgantum lege ministra.
 165 Quamque fugit crudi nomen deforme tyranni,
 Mirifici gaudet tam celso nomine regis.
 Nulla voluptatis hunc blandimenta dolose
 A recto abducunt. Frugaliter omnibus utens
 Vota gule lasciva premit, corpusque caducum
 170 Compellit servire animo; non milvus avarus
 Insidias opibus nectit, neque subdola vulpes
 Ad delatores patientem commodat aurem.
 Hunc mentita timet calumnia; vulgus eundem
 Assentatorum refugit contingere : quos si
 175 Audiat, extemplo verbis incessit amaris :
 Quos tu pantominos media conspexeris aula?
 Luxuriam verbis acuentes, noxia dantes,
 Toxica, mellitum quibus exilit ore venenum,
 Aut nulli aut latebras, si sunt, sectantur opacas.
 180 Principe sub nostro locus hos recludit honestus;
 Stipat enim gravium praeclara caterva sophorum
 Heroem, procures quique admittuntur ad illum
 Fabricios equant virtutibus et Marcellos.
 Haud ego magnificis exstructas menibus arces
 185 Complector, non templa deis erecta. Sed illa
 Posteritas laudabit ovans, ut Romula pubes (unsigned)
 Iactat Pompilium plenis effusa theatri.
 Porro magnanimas loquar ad certamina vires?
 Quas humilis nondum capit intellectus, & heret.
 190 Hi, quos fama senex ob belli predicat artes,
 Mentitis gaudent titulis, nec tantus Achilles
 Tantusve Hector erant, quantos fingebat Homerus
 Ingenio indulgens venaque adiutus acuta!

V. 176 panthonimios, P.

V. 177 aciûtes, P.

- At quid vate opus est, oculo si iudice censor
195 Fias : eluxit nimium mavortia virtus;
Cassidis & galee patiens hastequae trisulce,
Cum thorace latens dux inclitus horrida gessit
Prelia, disiunctas a finibus, obice ponto,
Imperio gentes subigens & victor ubique,
200 Fortis et in medio verus certamine miles.
Murmurat ecce aliud diffundens omnia rumor,
Quam Solymas paret ad sedes contendere classe,
Qua nostri generis Cristus reparator in una
Virgine delituit, luteoque occultus amictu
205 Tristia primevi reparavit damna parentis.
Assertoris opus proprii dea virgo secundet.
COR. : An miraris adhuc quidnam, Silvane, iocosos
Pastores pax alta liget, quos principis aura,
Quos servat deus, ille deus, quo nostra patrono
210 Gloria crescentes in latum protulit alas?
Quem superi servare velint! Sed fascibus ecce
Lictor honoratis adventum regis honesti
Pretendit; nobis vox est reprimenda : deo sit
215 Quam similis, spectate oculos faciemque verendam.

FINIS

Peter SHARRATT

NICOLAUS NANCELIUS, *PETRI RAMI VITA*.
EDITED WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

INTRODUCTION

The life of Peter Ramus (1515-1572), the controversial Renaissance teacher, philosopher, mathematician and educational reformer, has been written several times. Not long after his murder at the massacre of St. Bartholomew there appeared two short Latin accounts, the first by Johann Freige in 1575, and the second by Théophile de Banos in 1576, each of which was published as an introduction to one of Ramus's books, and ran to three or more reprintings. Perhaps it was the existence of these brief and inadequate biographies that persuaded Nicolas de Nancel (1539-1610) to turn his hand to the task of producing something more worthy of the subject. This *Petri Rami vita* appeared in 1599, though as we shall see later, it had been written much earlier. Nancel's version is much longer than the other two, more detailed, more sensitive, and altogether better written, in a fascinating and sometimes even entertaining manner. It is also much more authoritative since Nancel had been first a student of Ramus, then his secretary, editor and collaborator, and his close friend for a period of twenty years and more. He was thus peculiarly suited to write about Ramus. The fact that he was himself a teacher of Greek and Latin, a scholar, humanist and amateur theologian, as well as being a practising doctor and author of medical treatises added much to the quality of the life he composed.

There has been only one other full-scale life of Ramus, that by Charles Waddington, published in Latin in 1848, and in a different form, in French in 1855. This is usually considered to be the standard life, though it has the defect that it is hagiographical, and makes a very selective use of some of the available material, including the work of Nancel. Waddington's use of Nancel is further vitiated by the annoying technique of *paraphrasing* Nancel in French, and then presenting it as quotation.

His book does, however, contain much information that is to be found nowhere else. Nancel does not, of course, anything like exhaust the subject; modern research has discovered, and continues to discover, much about Ramus that Nancel does not seem to have known. We are also now better able to place Ramus in the context of his age and in the history of ideas. Moreover, we can stand apart from Nancel and see something of his own *parti pris*; not so much that his own devoutly Catholic position coloured his judgement (he was doctor to the community of nuns at the Abbey of Fontevault, and was the author of several religious works and biblical paraphrases, but he claims that he was attempting to be scrupulously fair, and he is this, even to the point of obscurity); it is rather that he wishes to bask in the reflected glory of Ramus, and wishes to set the record straight that he himself had edited, and even collaborated in some of the writings of Ramus in a way which is not fully realized even today.

Nancel was born in 1539 (or perhaps in 1537 as Verdonk argues, there is conflicting evidence on the point) at Tracy near Noyon, the country of Calvin and Ramus, and in 1548 became a pupil at Ramus's Collège de Presles. He stayed there until 1568, apart from a period of two years (1562-4) when he held a post of visiting Professor at the new university of Douai. After leaving Presles he took up the practice of medicine in Soissons, very briefly, and then in Tours from 1580 to 1587. From that time until his death in 1610 he worked at Fontevault. He was a prolific writer, and there is a considerable body of his published work; his unpublished work seems to have been greater still, though many of his manuscripts have been lost. His published works range from a schoolboy Latin exercise in rhetoric (1554) to his monumental *Analogia microcosmi ad macrocosmon* which was published in 1611, the year after his death, by Claude Morel.

With the present edition of the *Petri Rami vita*, Nancel's first-hand account, a valuable source-book not only for the life of Ramus but also for Parisian university life in the Renaissance, is published for the first time since the sixteenth century. (The first half of Nancel's *Vita* was translated as part of a thesis for St. Louis University by Rev. Martin J. Bredeck, S.J., who kindly assured me that he had no plans for completing or publishing the work. I saw this thesis some years ago in St. Louis, but have not used it at all in the preparation of the present edition.) There was only one edition, that of 1599, though the six copies I have consulted show a small number of minor alterations, such as

variants in punctuation; very occasionally, odd spelling mistakes of one letter each are corrected, though the six copies are not identical in their differences. There is also, fortunately, in existence a manuscript version of the *Vita*, in the Archives Nationales, in Paris; since it does not appear to be mentioned anywhere else than in the catalogue of the *Archives*, a word of description is necessary. It seems (and I advance this view with a certain amount of hesitation) to be an autograph manuscript. Normally, Nancel's manuscripts are instantly recognizable both by their distinctive and beautiful handwriting, and by their inclusion of Nancel's device $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega$. This manuscript does not have the device, but there are other manuscripts, certainly by Nancel, which do not have it either; nor indeed is it written in his usual calligraphic manner, but then there are some manuscripts, again certainly by him, among those contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale which were hastily and almost illegibly written. The truth is that Nancel had two, if not three, different methods of writing. Although we cannot be absolutely sure, my own view is that the manuscript is in his hand, and this is supported by the internal evidence of the text. There is a further problem. The text of the manuscript is not identical with that of the printed version. The main difference is that the printed version amplifies the text, sometimes merely padding it out for stylistic effect (and often with dubious results), but sometimes providing new information such as supplying names which are not in the manuscript. Sometimes the printed version corrects mistakes in the manuscripts, sometimes it introduces new mistakes of its own. It is quite clear that the manuscript is earlier than the printed text and is not a copy made from it. It is also clear that the manuscript is a first draft, and is not the copy which was sent to the printer. Nonetheless, it is an original version of the 1599 text, and careful attention must be paid to it. On the other hand, it can have only limited authority in the establishment of the text. For this reason, while it has proved invaluable to me in the preparation of this edition, I have used it discreetly rather than slavishly. The punctuation of the manuscript, for example, is often very different from that of the printed text; in general it is neither more nor less correct. Moreover we may, I think, assume, though this would be impossible to prove, that the printed text follows a punctuation which was nearer to what Nancel intended for his enlarged and completed version.

I have accordingly taken some liberties with the punctuation. The quality of the printing of the 1599 copies is not high, and there is not even agreement among them. I have corrected obvious mistakes (such as

full-stops in the middle of sentences, commas at the end) and sometimes changed colons to something else, since the earlier printer used them inconsistently and far too freely. My aim has been to make the text more easily readable, without, however, trying to punctuate the Latin as though it were a modern language. Granted the imperfect and indeed arbitrary nature of sixteenth-century punctuation, especially in Latin texts, there seemed to be no value in burdening the *apparatus criticus* with a note of this. I have also tried to lighten the cramped presentation of the original by shifting the marginal headings to the body of the text, and running them together where necessary in order to produce better paragraphs. The spelling of the printed text has been retained, except that a handful of mistakes have been corrected; "e" has been written "ae", always instead of sometimes, and "i" and "j" and "u" and "v" have been distinguished. There is still no universal agreement about this in the editing of Renaissance Latin texts, but *pietas* dictated it in an edition of the life of the man who was responsible for the introduction of the distinction. Curiously enough, the printed text confuses them, even at the very point where Nancel is talking about the subject.

The notes have been kept to a minimum. They are principally concerned with tracking down quotations, and evaluating them. I have not commented on facts in the life of Ramus, nor referred to other sources of our knowledge of these facts. Supplementary information and commentary can be obtained from the books in the summary bibliography, especially those by Ong, Verdonk and Vasoli. I have, however, briefly identified the first editions of works of Ramus mentioned in the book; further details of these and later editions, and of location of copies, will be found in Ong's *Ramus and Talon Inventory*.

It is possible to arrive at a fairly exact dating for the composition of the *Vita*. As we have seen, it was published in 1599. Although it sometimes appears as a separate volume, it was originally published together with another work in two parts: *Nancelii ... Declamationum liber, eas complectens orationes, quas vel ipse juvenis habuit ad populum, vel per discipulos recitavit, tum Lutetiae olim docens, tum in Academia Duacensi regius professor institutus, in quibus praecipua est medicinae ... apologia et jurisprudentiae encomium... Addita est P. Rami ... vita ab eodem Nancelio ... conscripta*, Paris, Claude Morel, 1599 (This work usually has the date 1600 on the title-page, but the copy in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, is dated 1599). The *Vita* always has separate pagination from the *Declamationum liber*, but the signatures are con-

tinuous. Both of the books of speeches were revised by Nancel, and contain his list of errata. This is not the case for the *Vita*. The prefatory letter of the first book of speeches (dated from Fontevrault, "8 Cal. April. 1594") explains that they had been prepared for the printer long before and had been waiting for publication: "Haec nostra opuscula, quae annis aliquot in scriniis Typographicis, cum aliis nostris monumentis delituerant, pestis contagia et belli civilis tumultus vix declinantia, nunc tandem emergunt in lucem $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega\phi$. Ita tamen, ut aliquot menda chalcographica (ut fere fit) propter nostram absentiam contraxerint." (I, 15).

Nancel published two interim lists of his own publications, one in 1581, dated "du dernier iour de Decembre, 1580", appearing in his *De la Peste*, and the other, dated "ad Calendas magni et Jubilei anni M. DC.", appearing in his book of letters in 1603. It is the first of these which interests us here. In this list he includes among works which are ready for the press "Nancelii declamationum sive orationum ad populum habitatum volumen", but without any mention of the *Vita*. This is significant since the other works listed give complete, sometimes lengthy, titles. Nor does the *Vita* even appear among other works "ou non mis encore au net, ou non du tout achevés". If we now turn to the manuscript we find a clear indication when it was composed (or at least when the relevant section was composed). In the account of the apparition to Ramus of the dying Bishop Du Châtel, the printed version says that this took place "ante annos circiter 36" (p. 67). Du Châtel died in 1552. The manuscript gives, very clearly, "ante annos 30" (f. 14r), which means that it was written in Tours in 1582. Anyone familiar with the Nancel manuscripts will know that he often corrects his own works, and especially in the matter of dates, as he prepares them for the press and then fails to find a printer. It seems certain, therefore, that this manuscript was written in 1581-2. The first printed mention I can find of the *Vita* comes in a letter to Frédéric Morel, dated "Idib. Maii 1586", in which Nancel writes: "atque utrique tomo illi orationum, vitam P. Rami praefigas, sequentibus aut antecedentibus ejusdem Rami Politicis, quae scribis te habere prae manibus: quae fateor nunquam a me visa" (*Epistolarum de pluribus reliquarum tomus prior*, Paris, 1603, p. 156, B.N. Z 56046). However, it is not clear whether this refers to the manuscript in the *Archives* or to a later version. Certainly the text must have been altered in 1588 in order to give the thirty-six years since Du Châtel's death which the printed text mentions. It is not surprising that we have lost this second version of the manuscript. It is true that many of the

Nancel manuscripts have been carefully prepared for the press by himself or perhaps at times by someone else, but it is unlikely that they ever saw the inside of a printer's *officina*. The revised manuscript of the *Vita* was presumably destroyed along with the manuscripts of his other printed books.

I wish to acknowledge the help I have received in the preparation of this edition and translation, firstly from Professor P. G. Walsh of the Department of Humanity of the University of Glasgow, who very kindly agreed to look at some of the more puzzling passages, and suggested some translations and emendations, and secondly to my brother, Rev. Michael Sharratt, of Ushaw College, Durham, with whom I discussed much of the translation, to its great improvement. (I should add that neither of these scholars saw more than the isolated passages, nor the final version of my script, so that any errors are entirely my own.) I am grateful to the librarians and staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève and the Archives Nationales for their continuing good service, and to the librarians of the Bodleian and of Aberdeen University Library for making their copies available to me in my own University Library. Finally I wish to acknowledge a grant from the Travel and Research Fund of the University of Edinburgh which made possible the consultation of works in Paris.

*

SUMMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *The text*

The manuscript of Nancel's *Petri Rami vita* is to be found in the Archives Nationales, Paris, under the press-mark M. 827 n° 1.

I know of seven copies of the printed version of Nancel's *Petri Rami vita*, Paris, 1599. The present text is based mainly on one of the three copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, that is 8° T²¹ 67. The other two are to be found at X 18084, and Z 56047. I have also consulted the copy in the Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Paris, (X 855 inv. 477); this copy is interesting in that the *Declamationum* with which it is bound has the date 1599, instead of 1600 on its title-page. I have also been able to consult the copies in Aberdeen University Library (SB 8795), and in the Bodleian. I have not seen the copy in Marsh's Library, Dublin. Of the six copies I have used the differences are so slight as not to merit detailed discussion.

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- , "The Present State of Studies on Ramus", *Studi francesi*, 47-8 (1972), 201-13.
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- , *Ramus : sa vie, ses écrits et ses opinions* (Paris, 1855, reprinted William C. Brown, Dubuque, Iowa, s.d., and Slatkine, Geneva, 1969).

3. On Nancel

Much information will be found in the books on Ramus listed above, especially Verdonk. The following may also be consulted :

- Ong, Walter, J. S.J., "A Ramist translation of Euripides", *Manuscripta*, St. Louis, 8 (1964), 18-28.
- Sharratt, Peter, "Ronsard and Nancel : Some New Ronsard Poems?", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 35 (1973), 463-86.
- , (forthcoming) "Nicolas de Nancel (1539-1610)" in the *Acta* of the Amsterdam Neo-latin Congress, 1973.

University of Edinburgh.

PETRI RAMI Veromandui, Eloquentiae et Philosophiae apud Parisios professoris Regii vita, a Nic. Nancelio Trachyeno Noviodunensi, Rami discipulo et populari, descripta. [Parisiis, apud Claudium Morellum, via Jacobaea ad insigne Fontis. M.D.IC.] ⁽¹⁾

[(3) Omnibus P. Rami doctrinae alumni, viris toto orbe clarissimis, condiscipulis olim suis, Nic. Nancelius S.D. ⁽²⁾

Frequens est in ore omni populo : Magistris, diis et parentibus non potest reddi aequivalens. Illud quasi tritum vulgo proverbium videor ex *Aristotelis* *Ethicis* agnoscere, vetus interpretamentum redolens, pium tamen, imo et verae pietatis triplex omne genus, aut sane praecipuum, brevi elogio in se complexum ¹. Cujus primus gradus utique Deo debetur, proximus parentibus, tertius demum praeceptoribus, quasi diceret : nec diis, nec parentibus, nec ipsis utique praeceptoribus par unquam referri poterit gratia. Ut enim Deus dat esse, et parentes, ut sint liberi, adjuvant, sic magistris cura incumbit, ut virtutem et artes perdiscant pueri, per quas ut homo ab homine, sic homo a belluis potissimum differt. Ut autem optimi (4) praeceptores pueris deligantur, et *Republica* multum interest, et Socrates sanxit apud Platonem in *Lachete* sub finem, “*Εγὼ γὰρ φημὶ (...) ⁽³⁾ κοινῇ πάντας ἡμᾶς ζητεῖν μάλιστα μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διδάσκαλον ὡς ἄριστον (...) ἔπειτα καὶ τοῖς μειρακίοις, μητὲ χρημάτων φειδομένους, μήτε ἄλλου μηδεὶός*” ². id est : “Ego enim edico oportere in commune nos omnes invicem nobis ipsis magistrum quaerere quam optimum deinde adolescentibus, neque pecuniis, neque aliis rebus parcentes”. Ubi et Homeri testimonium isti profert consilio aptum, “*Οὐκ ἀγαθὴν(...)αἰδῶ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρῆναι*. Viro egeno verecundiam non conducere.” ³ Quam in rem Fabius multus legitur. Sed breviter Hieronymus, Epistola 89 : “Magister probae aetatis et vitae eruditionisque eligendus est (...) Nec sunt contemnenda quasi parva, sine quibus constare magna non possunt.” ⁴ Seneca vero jam ante scripserat ad Lucilium, epistola 64 : “Suscipiendi sunt et ritu Deorum

⁽¹⁾ Square brackets indicate that the word or passage is not in the manuscript.

⁽²⁾ The entire preface (pp. 3-6 in the 1599 text) is missing from the ms; numbers in brackets () refer to pages of the printed edition, numbers following the sign // refer to leaves of the manuscript.

⁽³⁾ Three dots inside brackets are used to indicate omissions in the course of a quotation. The dots and brackets are my own in every case; square brackets are not used, in order to avoid the impression that the dots are present in the printed text but not the manuscript.

The Life of Peter Ramus from Vermandois, Royal Professor of Eloquence and Philosophy in Paris, by Nicolas de Nancel, of Tracy, near Noyon, a disciple and fellow-countryman of Ramus.
Paris, Claude Morel, rue St. Jacques, at the sign of the fountain, 1599.

Nicolas de Nancel sends greetings to all Ramus's old pupils, men of international distinction who were once his fellow-students.

It is a common and universal saying that it is impossible to repay satisfactorily teachers, gods and parents. I seem to recall reading this well-worn proverb in Aristotle's *Ethics*, (though it smacks of an old translation), expressing piety, or rather embracing in this short maxim all three kinds of piety, or at least the most important kinds. Certainly the first debt is to God, the next to our parents, and the third to our teachers, as though he said that it is never possible to make a just return to the gods, to our parents, nor, for that matter, to our teachers. For just as God gives us our being, and our parents cooperate in so far as they are free to, so it is the responsibility of teachers to see that boys have a thorough grounding in virtue and the arts, in which lies the principal difference between men and animals, and between one man and another. It is of the first importance that the state should select the best teachers for the boys, as is confirmed by Socrates at the end of Plato's *Laches*: "For I declare (...) that we have a common obligation to seek out the best possible teacher first for ourselves and then for the young people, sparing neither money nor anything else". He also calls on the authority of Homer to support this piece of advice: "Shame is not becoming for a man in need."

Quintilian too has much to say on this subject, and St. Jerome says briefly in Letter 89, "A teacher should be chosen of suitable age, character and learning (...) Nor should you despise as small, things on which greater things depend." Seneca had earlier written to Lucilius in Letter 64:

¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 8, 14, 4. Aristotle's text talks of gods and parents, but does not mention teachers, even in the old Latin translations I have been able to consult. On the other hand J. L. Vives, *De Subventionem Pauperum* I, 3 says exactly the same concerning Aristotle and also mentions the teachers.

² Plato, *Laches*, 201, A, B. Nancel reproduces the text with some omissions.

³ Homer, *Odyssey*, 17, 347. Nancel quotes the text (with the omission of *εἰναι*) as it appears in the Plato quotation above, and not as in Homer.

⁴ Jerome, *Epistulae*, 107 (Ad Laetam, De institutione Filiae), ed. Labourt, 5, p. 148, with omissions.

colendi praeceptores. Quidni ego magnorum virorum et imagines habeam, incitamenta animi, et natales celebrem? Quidni illos, honoris caussa semper appellem? Quam autem venerationem praeceptoribus meis debeo, eandem illis praeceptoribus generis humani, a quibus tanti boni initia fluxerunt (...) Ego illos veneror, et tantis nominibus semper assurgo.”⁵ Ait ille, enumeratis aliquot virorum et philosophorum summorum exemplis. Sed et noster jam olim Hippocrates in iurejurando ita asseverat ac dejerat, Praeceptorem sese qui hanc edocuit artem, parentum loco habiturum, vitam communicaturum, eaque quibus opus habuerit, impertiturum, etc.⁶

Quid plura? Vos enim nunc alloquor, vos appello, (5) o viri percelebres, et nostri olim condiscipuli sub Ramo illo florentissimo, in omni artium ac disciplinarum genere non dico per Galliam universam, sed per Europam adeo totam, imo per orbem universum sparsi et latissime diffusi, qui clavum *Reipublicae* tenetis, qui vestris artibus variis ac multiplicibus populo praefecti estis ac praelucetis, qui quasi lumina clarissima resplendetis, scriptisque doctissimis nomen vestrum ad posteros propagatis. Vobis vitam praeceptoris olim nostri legendam et recognoscendam propono, exemplar doctrinae et eruditionis cujusdam singularis : quis, qualis, cujas⁽⁴⁾, quantus extiterit, vel memoriam refrico, si meminisse juvat, vel iis qui non viderunt, nec audierunt, ipse qui vidi, audiui, pernovi, indico, insinuo, indigito; et quidem quantum recordari queo, quam tum per annos prope viginti contubernalis observavi, quantum ab iis didici, qui interfuerunt rebus absente me circa illum et ab illo gestis, bona fide, sine fuco, fraude, adulatione, mendacio, candidus et gratus in praeceptorem beneficum, singillatim expono, siqua ratione pro suis in me puerum, adolescentem, juvenem, virum denique, atque in *Rempublicam* literariam, meritis⁽⁵⁾ ἀντιπελαργεῖν queam, de quo id videor quodam suo posse jure dicere, quod Ennius ille de suo Africano, quem Ramo nostro uspiam pari in casu comparavi,

cui nemo civis, nemo hostis

Quivit pro factis reddere operae pretium ?.

(4) The text has “cujus” which would perhaps mean “of what stock” or “of what party”, but the reading “cujas” (suggested by P. G. Walsh) seems more acceptable.

(5) The text has “mentis”; P. G. Walsh emends to “meritis”.

⁵ Seneca, *Epistulae*, 64, 9-10, with omissions.

⁶ Hippocrates, *Oath*.

⁷ Seneca, *Epistulae*, 18, 5.

"Teachers must be respected and revered as though they were gods. Why should I not have images of great men to inspire me, and celebrate their birthday? Why should I not always mention them in order to honour them? The reverence which I owe to my own teachers, I owe also to the teachers of the human race, who were the original cause of so much good (...) I do revere them and always stand up out of respect for such great names."

So he spoke, having mentioned several examples of great men and philosophers. Our own Hippocrates too once declared solemnly under oath that the teacher who had taught him this art would be given the same place as his parents, that he would share his livelihood with him and whatever else was needed, etc.

Need I say any more? I now address you and appeal to you, distinguished men, who were once our fellow-students in every art and discipline under the flourishing branch of Ramus; you are now widely scattered not merely throughout France, but throughout Europe, even throughout the whole world; some of you are at the helm of the state, some of you are set above the rest of the people by your many and varied accomplishments; you shine out among them like brilliant lights, and by your learned publications are handing on your name to future generations. I offer for your perusal and examination the life of our old teacher, a model of outstanding learning and scholarship, saying who he was, what sort of man, from what native region, and how great he was, refreshing your memory if you have the pleasure of remembering him, or, for those who neither saw nor heard him, pointing him out, introducing him, and making him known, since I myself saw him, heard him and knew him well. I set out point by point, as far as I can remember them, all the facts which I observed during the period of nearly twenty years when I lodged with him, and what I have learned about him and what he did from those who were present when I was not. I do this in good faith and without dissimulation, falsification, flattery or lies; I do it candidly and with gratitude towards my kindly teacher, in the hope that by some means I can make some return for his deserving services to me as a child, a boy, a young man and then an adult, and to the republic of letters. I think I am justified in saying about him what Ennius said about his Africanus, whom I have compared somewhere to our own Ramus in a similar situation : "no-one, fellow-citizen or enemy, was able to give him a true reward for what he did;"

Vel ut alius de alio quodam haud ineleganter,
 merito cui doctior orbis,
 Submissis ⁽⁶⁾ defert fascibus imperium ⁸.

(6) Iterumque cum Juvenale exclamabo, *Satyra* 7 :

Dii majorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram,
 Spirantesque crocos, et in urna perpetuum ver,
 Qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
 Esse loco ⁹.

Valete amici et condiscipuli suavissimi, vestrumque Nancelium redamate.]

(7) PETRI RAMI Veromandui, eloquentiae et philosophiae apud Parisios professoris Regii vita, A Nic. Nancelio Trachyeno Noviodunensi, Rami discipulo et populari descripta.

— *De Rami genere, et ortu, parentibus, et natali solo.*

Petrus Ramus, qui facto nominis et cognominis ἀναγραμματισμῶ, *merus partus* dici commode potest, e Picardia ortus quidem fuit, sed ex Eburonum gente oriundus, natus anno Christi 1515, eodem quo et Franciscus Francorum Rex est inauguratus. Avus Rami, capta Leodiensi civitate et expilata incensaque a Carolo Burgundorum duce, suppetias ferente Ludovico undecimo Gallorum rege, anno 1468, in Picardiam haud procul dissitam, sed conterminam patriam, cum familia et recula domestica commigravit. Nomen loco fuit Cus sive (?) Cuz, ignobili tum pago, et nemoroso, et paucis cultoribus habitato. Cujus loci commoditatem opportunitatemque nactus ille misellus advena, et profugus pauperculus, quo (8) vitam inopem sustentaret, carbonariam exercere coepit. Quod velut probrum cum saepe Ramo ab inimicis et obtrectatoribus objiceretur, illud sibi laudi ducens, aperte palamque professus est in oratione quadam sua, quae et impressa legitur. [“Pater”, inquit, “agricola fuit, avus carbonariam exercuit”.]¹⁰ Istius vero carbonarii filius, [Jacobus] nomine, [cognomine a Rama,] Petri Rami pater, ducta uxore [Johanna] Carpenteria, honesta quidem, sed de paupere familia, [(ut essent ambo, ut ait Horatius, “humili de plebe parentes”)]¹¹, uti par erat, aequali quidem sorte, sed indigena foemina, mutato sordido

(6) The text has “submissi”.

(7) ms *sive*, text *suis*.

⁸ I have been unable to trace this non-classical quotation. Without the context

or, as another writer said rather elegantly of someone else :

“he deserved the homage and respect of the learned world”.

Finally, I shall exclaim in the words of Juvenal (Satire 7) :

“O gods, let the earth be soft and weigh lightly on the remains of our ancestors, let the smell of saffron and a perpetual spring come from their urn, for they gave to the teacher the place of a revered parent.”

Farewell, my friends, and beloved fellow-students, and please love your Nancel in the same way as he loves you.

The Life of Peter Ramus from Vermandois, Royal Professor of Eloquence and Philosophy in Paris, by Nicholas de Nancel of Tracy near Noyon, a disciple and fellow-countryman of Ramus.

— *Concerning Ramus's birth and origin, his parents and his native land.*

Peter Ramus, who could aptly be called “Master Pure” by an anagram of his name and surname, was himself a native of Picardy, but descended from a Liège family; he was born in the year of Our Lord 1515, the very year in which Francis the First came to the throne of France. After the city of Liège had been captured, pillaged and burned by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with the assistance of Louis the Eleventh, King of France, in the year 1468, Ramus's grandfather moved house with all his family and belongings into the neighbouring district of Picardy. The name of the place was Cus or Cuz, a poor place then, surrounded by woods, and with few inhabitants. When the poor wretched fugitive foreigner had found a suitable and available place in which to scrape a living, he set up as a charcoal-burner. Ramus's enemies and detractors often used to taunt him with this as though it were something shameful, but he made it a point of pride and made a public declaration of it in a speech which has been printed. “My father”, he says, “was a farmer, and my grandfather a charcoal-burner”. The son of this charcoal-burner, called Jacques de la Ramée, married Jeanne Charpentier, and was the father of Peter Ramus. She was a virtuous woman, but from poor family, so that both of his parents, in Horace's words, were “from

the precise meaning is not easy to establish, though the main point is clear. The present “translation” depends on reading “*submissis*” for “*submissi*”.

⁹ Juvenal, *Satyræ*, 7, 207-10.

¹⁰ Ramus, *Oratio initio suae professionis habita*, 1551 : (Ong, 201).

¹¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3, 583. A slip on Nancel's part.

et illiberali paterno victus et quaestuosae vitae genere, non paulo splendidius elegit, et coemptis vili pretio in terra deserta incultaque aliquot soli jugeribus, agriculturam prisco more patrum et patriarcharum excercere instituit, suo pauper in aere victitans frugaliter. Vicus autem ille Ramo genitalis, Cus dictus, in Suessionensi dioecesi situs est, haud procul Suessione ac Novioduno et a nostro oppido Trachyo, in Veromanduum dicta ditio; a qua ⁽⁸⁾ Ramus primis olim ⁽⁹⁾ scriptis in lucem editis, Veromandum sese denominabat; // 1^v alii Samarobrinos pro Veromanduis habent. Nos deinceps P. Ramum Cusatem civem non verebimur appellare. Ut enim novus ille Arpinas M. Tullius Arpinum sua virtute et gloria illustravit, sic P. Ramus, [novus Cusas,] genitalis soli obscuritatem, suae eloquentiae et doctrinae fama nobilitavit, suisque majoribus sua virtute praeluxit. (9) Atque ut Cos Hippocratem, sic Cus affinitate nominis proximus vicus Ramum extulit : hunc omnium nostri saeculi eloquentium sapientissimum, et sapientum eloquentissimum, illum autem omnium omnis aevi ⁽¹⁰⁾ medicorum facile principem. Et vero recte Themistocles apud Ciceronem in Catone majore, cui cum Seriphius quidam patriae gloriam objecisset, diceretque eum nequaquam sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum : “Nec hercule”, inquit Themistocles, “si ego Seriphius essem, ignobilis essem, nec si tu Atheniensis, clarus unquam fuisses” ¹². Ita plerique non loco genitali illustres evadunt, sed ortum suum et patriam suam alioquin obscuram, virtute et ingenii nobilitate plurimum illustrant. [Alii contra claram patriam suo dedecore et infamia obscurant, et dehonestamento sunt, ut Tacitus loquitur.] ¹³ Ego vero natales P. Rami, et larem genialem, ipsaque velut cunabula, et lectulum in quo [mater enixa, et ille] natus fuerat, summa cum animi voluptate aliquando conspexi (est enim pagus illius nostro municipio finitimus), simul et illud Ciceronis verissimum esse dictum comperi, ex libro 5. de finibus : “Naturane nobis hoc (inquit) datum dicam, an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoria dignos viros acceperimus multos (vel multum) esse versatos, magis

⁽⁸⁾ text *a qua*, ms *quo*.

⁽⁹⁾ text *primis olim*, ms *primis in olim*.

⁽¹⁰⁾ text *aevi*, ms *alii*.

¹² Cicero, *De senectute* (i.e. *Cato major*). This is a misquotation; Cicero's text reads : “Nec hercule”, inquit, “si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus unquam fuisses”.

the common people"; it was fitting that she should be as poor as he was, though she was a local woman. He managed to exchange the wretched sordid commercial way of life of his father for a much more comfortable one, by buying for next to nothing a few acres of land in a deserted, uncultivated district, turning his hand to farming in the ancient manner of his ancestors and the patriarchs, and living thriftily on his own land. Cus, the village in which Ramus was born, is in the diocese of Soissons, not far from Soissons itself, from Noyon and our own Tracy, in the district known as the Vermandois, which is why in his first published works Ramus used to style himself "of Vermandois"; some people take the Samarobrini for the Veromandui. From this we will not be afraid to call Ramus a Cusan citizen. For just as Cicero, the new Arpinian, made Arpinum famous by his glorious reputation, so Ramus, the new Cusan, ennobled his obscure birthplace by his reputation for eloquence and learning, surpassing his ancestors by his virtue. Just as Cos produced Hippocrates, so Cus, a neighbouring village because of the similarity of the name, produced Ramus, one of the wisest among eloquent men, and one of the most eloquent among the wise men of our age, as Hippocrates is easily the prince among doctors of every age. Themistocles gave a good answer, as Cicero reports in his book on old age, to a certain Seriphian who had thrown the idea of patriotism at him, claiming that he himself had never sought celebrity by his own glory but by that of his own country. "No, by Hercules", said Themistocles, "nor would I be obscure if I were a Seriphian, and if you were an Athenian you would never be famous". There are many people whose eminence does not depend on their birthplace, but they rather bring great honour to their place of origin and an otherwise obscure country by their virtue and nobility of character. Some people, on the other hand, dishonour a famous country by their infamous misconduct, and are a disgrace to it, as Tacitus says. It was with great pleasure that I once paid a visit to the birthplace and home of Ramus, as it were to his cradle, and the bed in which his mother had been in labour and he was born (for his district is near to our town); I then proved the truth of Cicero's statement in Book 5 of the *De Finibus*: "Is it natural", he asks, "or a delusion, that when we see places in which we have heard that many worthy men have lived, (or that worthy men have lived much), we are more affected than

¹⁸ The reference to Tacitus is a general one to his use of the word, perhaps especially to *Annales*, 12, 14.

moveamur, quam siquando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus, aut scriptum aliquid [(vel aliquod)] (10) legamus?"¹⁴ Itemque illud pro Planco: "Nemo est nostrum liberaliter educatus, cui non educatores, cui non magistri sui atque doctores, cui non locus ille mutus, ubi ipse altus aut doctus est, cum grata recordatione in mente versetur"¹⁵.

— *De Rami cognomine.*

Atque haec de loco natali et ortu et parentibus Rami dicta sint. De cognomine hoc obiter monebo, non Ramum illi verum et genuinum cognomentum fuisse, sed affectatum ob vicinitatem nominis. Vernacule enim ("de la Ramée") velut a Rama, aut si mavis, Ramaeus dicebatur. Sed Rami appellatio magis arrisit homini cumprimis laudis cupido, atque isto velut omine, virescentem nominis famam jam inde ab initio affectare et sperare, sibi que adeo polliceri est ausus: // 2^r "Canescet saeculis innumerabilibus", ait ille¹⁶.

— *Rami educatio, peregrinatio, conditio, institutio, studiorum ardor, et inde ophthalmia.*

Ramus domi a matre nutritus et educatus, patrem admodum puer amisit. Qui ubi satis validus ac firmus adolevit, relicto lare patrio, atque ut de se ait poeta, "Pauperis et tuguri congestum caespitem culmen"¹⁷, velut avis nidum mature deserens, avunculum suum Honoratum Carpenterium, et vero (sicuti vulgo vernacule loquimur) et re et nomine, fabrum utique lignarium, in Hispaniam et Compostellam peregrinaturum comitari instituit, eidemque demum militaturo pediti pedes, ac calo sive lixa est adjunctus. Sed pace tandem constituta, jam satis adultus, ad literarum studia animum (11) applicuit. Cui primum avunculus vestimenta et libros pro tenui facultate, victum etiam suppeditavit. Sed impar oneri faber in diem victitans, cum a matre pueri paupere nihil accederet viatici aut annonae, avunculus suam illam fortunam periclitari, experiri coegit. Ideoque jam adultior juvenis in Gymnasio Navarrae Lutetiae magistrum delegit, cui cubicularius inserviret, ut eam conditionem nactus victum qualemcumque sibi procuraret, et studendi

¹⁴ Cicero, *De finibus*, 5, 1, 2.

¹⁵ Ibid., *Pro Planco*, 33, 81. In the original it is in the form of a question, not a statement.

¹⁶ Cicero, *De legibus*, 1, 1, 2.

¹⁷ Virgil, *Eclogae*, 1, 68: the quotation is not particularly apt since the full text reads "En unquam patrios longo post tempore finis, / pauperis et tuguri congestum caespitem culmen, / post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?"

when we merely hear about their actions, or when we read something they have written?”. There is also what he says in the speech *For Plancus* “There is not one of us who has received a liberal education who does not recall to mind with gratitude those who looked after him, his masters and teachers, and that inanimate place in which he was brought up or educated”.

— *Concerning Ramus’s surname.*

So much, then, for the birthplace, birth and parents of Ramus. I shall say this incidentally about his surname that Ramus was not strictly his real name, but was adopted because of its similarity. In French he was called “De la Ramée” which in Latin would be “A Rama”, or if you prefer, “Ramaeus”. The name “Ramus”, however, appealed more to someone who was particularly keen on praise, and by means of such an omen he dared to covet and hope for a flourishing reputation from the very beginning, and even to promise it to himself: “he will grow old through countless ages” as Cicero says.

— *Ramus’s education, travels, circumstances, teaching, his zeal for study and the resultant eye-disease.*

Ramus was nursed and brought up at home by his mother, and lost his father when he was still a boy. When he was old enough and strong enough he left his father’s house, and, as the poet says of himself, “the roof of the humble cottage, covered with turf”; like a bird leaving the nest at the proper time, he decided to accompany his uncle Honoré Charpentier who was (as we say in the vernacular) in truth, in name and in fact a carpenter, and was about to set out on a pilgrimage to Compostella and Spain. Later, when his uncle decided to go and fight as a foot-soldier, he attached himself to him as a foot-soldier, in the role of servant or sutler. However, peace was made at last, and so he applied his mind to literary studies, since he was already old enough. At first his uncle provided him with clothes, books and even food, according to his modest means. The carpenter supported him from day to day, but was unequal to the task, since no money or other contribution was forthcoming from the boy’s mother who was too poor, and so his uncle made him try to seek his own fortune. Therefore when he was already quite old he chose a master in the Collège de Navarre in Paris to whom he would act as a personal servant: by virtue of this position he would be able to procure some sort of food for himself, and snatch moments for study in the time when he was free from his necessary everyday tasks. I know for certain that

occasionum momenta succideret, tempore a diurnis ac necessariis muniis libero. De quo hoc habeo compertum, tam acri et pertinaci studio elucubrare solitum, ut nocturnae quieti vix ternas horas impertiret. Ex quo gravis illum ophthalmiaprehendit, et citatum studiorum cursum magno adolescentis desiderio retardavit. Qui cum legisset audissetve de Aristotele, solitum excitandi sui caussa aeneum manu globum tenere dormitantem, cujus in subjectam pelvim sonoro tinnitu expergisceretur a somno¹⁸, ita Ramus noster novo quodam artificio somnum excutere cogitavit, saxo ad funiculum ambustum appenso; quoquidem lenta ustione consumpto, intra duas aut tres horas cum impetu solum illidente lapide, expergefactus surgere properabat, plus olei quam vini absumens, ut Crates monebat. Interea vero temporis omni officio condiscipulos, sed longe opulentiores et nobiliores promereri, obsequioque omnino devincire studebat. Quos inter (12) Carolo Guisio Cardinali, tunc in collegio Navarrae literis operam danti, Archiepiscopo Rhemensi [primum, mox Cardinali Lotharingo], tum innotescere, tum gratus esse coepit, quod in hoc, licet conditione servo, tamen insignia liberalis animi doctrinaeque ingenuae haud vulgaris indicia conspiceret [et conspiceretur]. // 2^v

— *Rami lauream adepti professio prima, socii duo laboris, et alacritas in docendo.*

Peracto demum cursu studiorum, pro more, septem artium liberalium magisterium adeptus est, sumptus suppeditantibus tum avunculo, tum matre ipsa, agelli cujusdam portione in eum finem vendita, et pretio tantillo in multo nobiliorem praestantiorumque mercem literariam converso. Quod quidem postea vel cum foenore reddidit et matri [Johannae], et quam unicam habuit, sorori [Franciscae]; id quod ab illis ipsis, sicut et alia multa, percontando didici. Ramus subinde mutata servili conditione, liber factus, artes ingenuas ardenti studio et pertinaci labore profiteri aggressus est. In Cenomano gymnasio prima jecit docendi fundamenta, tyrociniumque posuit¹⁹. Cujus perspectam doctrinam et industriam cum plerique Parisienses gymnasiarchae ambirent, novam quandam excogitavit artem, qua fieret illustrior, et proventum ex jugi assiduaeque augeret opera. Duos sibi asciscit collegas, viros id aetatis insignes doctrina, Audomarum Talaeum Bellouacensem, [Rhetorem,] eloquentiae studio celebrem, et Bartholomaeum Alexandrum Cam-

¹⁸ Diogenes Laertius, *Aristotle*, 5, 16.

¹⁹ This is the Collège du Mans in Paris.

he used to work so hard and assiduously during the night that he scarcely devoted three hours to sleep, with the result that he became afflicted with a serious eye-disease which slowed down the pace of the studies which the young man was so keen on pursuing. So, having read or heard the story that when Aristotle was nodding off he used to hold a brass ball in his hand in order to rouse himself from his sleep as it clattered loudly into a basin he had placed below it, our friend Ramus worked out a new device for driving away sleep. He tied a stone to a thin burning cord; when the cord had been consumed by slow burning, after two or three hours, the stone fell to the ground with a clatter, and he would wake up and quickly get out of bed, making greater use of lamp-oil than of wine, as Crates advised. During all this time he strove to render services and do homage to his fellow-students who were far richer and more noble than he was. Among these people he became known to Cardinal de Guise (who was then studying literature in the Collège de Navarre, and later became Archbishop of Rheims, and then Cardinal of Lorraine) and eventually became his friend, because although his condition was that of a servant, the Cardinal could see and admire in him the signs of a liberal mind, and the marks of natural learning and nobility.

— *The first teaching of Ramus after he obtained his degree, the two companions of his work, and his enthusiasm for teaching.*

When he had finally completed his course of study, he obtained, as was the custom, his master's degree in the seven liberal arts, the expenses being borne by his uncle and his own mother who had sold part of a small field for this purpose, and so converted a small sum of money into a much nobler and more excellent literary gain. He later repaid this debt, and with interest, both to his mother Jeanne and to his only sister Frances, as I learned from the women themselves, along with much else besides, when I put some questions to them. From then onwards Ramus stopped being a servant and became a free man, and began to teach the liberal arts, continuing to study them at the same time enthusiastically and with unremitting labour. He laid the first foundations of his teaching in the Collège du Mans, his first post. Since many heads of Parisian colleges were soliciting his renewed learning and industry, he devised a new teaching-method which would make him more famous and he strove to increase his success by continuous, dedicated work. He associated with himself two colleagues, men of outstanding learning at that time.

panum, (13) hominem Graecae linguae peritum. Tres isti mutuas operas conferunt, fraternam jurant amicitiam, commune vitae genus deligunt, communes studiorum fructus in unum comportant [et partiuntur]; sit mens una, animus unus, marsupium unum, domus una. Est Lutetiae obscurum et perparvum gymnasiolum, quod Marianum dicitur, ab inscripto valvis titulo, "Ave Maria": illuc conveniunt et commigrant [velut novi literarum et artium nundinatores], horas lectionesque suas partiuntur. Ramus ut splendidior et honorabilior [seu honoratior] atque doctior, [et vero majestate sua quadam nativa dignus imperio (ut Graecus poeta dicebat, "τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος — forma autem digna imperio est")]²⁰ caeteris praeest, modum dicendi docendique et praeit, et praescribit. Latinis Graeca novo quodam more et hactenus Academiae Parisiensi inusitato, simulque eloquentiae philosophiam, et poetas atque oratores [pariter] explicando conjungunt. Sic concursus ingens auditorum, applausus omnium et admiratio in vulgus. Ramus declamitare frequenter; mathematicas disciplinas eloquentiae adjungere.

— *Rami primi conatus ardui adversus primarios auctores : et hinc odia multorum, et senatus lata adversus eum sententia.*

Quintilianum perscrutari, expendere, scriptis vellicare; Ciceronem Brutinis quaestionibus perstringere, Aristotelem animadversionibus premere et urgere²¹. Implentur omnes scholae, omnis coetus studiosorum, omnis civitas, variis de novo quodam Ramo [nuper] exorto rumusculis. Multi probant (14) conatus audaces et industrios; (11) pauci livore aestuant; [observant insidiose,] mordent clanculum; aperte insiliunt, deferunt magistratui; in jus, et ad judicium subsellia vocant, quod tum in auctores alios bonae notae, [tum] in Aristotelem philosophorum principem, ac Theologiae scholasticae fundamentum inquisierit liberius. // 3^r Interdicitur Ramo tum omni scriptionis, tum praeceptionis genere : lingua manusque vincitur et arctatur, multa quotidie dicturo et docturo publice, multa etiam scripturo et commentaturo.

(11) ms *industrios* :, text has no colon.

²⁰ Euripides, *Aeolus*, Fragment 15, 2 (Nauck), possibly via Stobaeus.

²¹ Ramus, *Aristotelicae animadversiones*, 1543 (Ong, 18); *Brutinae quaestiones*, 1547 (Ong, 55); *Rhetoricae distinctiones in Quintilianum*, 1549, (Ong, 183).

Omer Talon of Beauvais, a rhetorician famous for the study of eloquence, and Barthélemy Alexandre from Champagne, who was a good Greek scholar. These three men provide complementary teaching, fraternal friendship, adopt a communal life, and share the common fruits of their studies; there is one mind amongst them, one spirit, a common purse and a common home. In Paris there is a tiny obscure little college, called the Marian College, after the title "Ave Maria" which is inscribed on the doors, and it is here that they all migrate and gather together, like new traders in the market-place of literature and the arts, and share out the hours and the teaching. Since Ramus is more famous, more honourable, more distinguished and more learned than the other two, and better suited for governing because of his apparently native dignity ("worthy of ruling by his very appearance" as the Greek poet said), it is he who presides over them and arranges the programme of lecturing and teaching. They join the study of Greek with that of Latin in a new way, hitherto unknown in the University of Paris, and at the same time they join philosophy with eloquence, making a parallel explication of poets and orators. They attract a vast crowd of listeners, universal applause and popular admiration. Ramus often makes speeches and joins the teaching of mathematics to that of eloquence.

— *Ramus's first serious attacks on classical authors, which arouse the hatred of many people, and bring about a decree of the Parliament against him.*

He makes a critical examination of Quintilian and writes mockingly about him. In his *Brutus's Problems* he censures Cicero, and presses hard on Aristotle in the *Remarks on Aristotle*. All the schools, all learned gatherings and every city are filled with rumours about a certain Ramus who has just been discovered. Many people approve of his daring, hard-working experiments. A few people, however, are consumed with jealousy; they spy on him, attack him privately, and then leap on him openly, reporting him to the magistrate, and summoning him before the law and the courts on the grounds that he had made too free an examination of certain reputable authors, including Aristotle the prince of philosophers, and of the foundations of scholastic theology. Ramus is formally forbidden to engage in any kind of writing or teaching; his hands and tongue are tightly bound, since he had intended to say and teach many things daily in public, to write much himself and to produce extensive commentaries.

— *Ramus libertati per Cardinalem mecoenatem asseritur.*

Ecce autem in istis angustiis [θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς ut aiunt :] Ramus ad Carolum Cardinalem Guisium velut Deum aliquem tutelarem confugit, apud quem primis annis Rhemensem Archiepiscopum dixi Ramum olim adhuc juvenem et condiscipulum bonam iniisse gratiam. Cardinalis pro ea qua apud Regem Henricum secundum pollebat autoritate Ramum asserit adversus delatores, et importunos atque intempestivos rei literariae patronos, [vel potius perturbatores]. Fit docendi scribendique libera potestas. Integratur atque renovatur docendi provincia, crescit ardor studiorum, increbrescit nominis splendor.

— *Rami Dialectica eximia.*

Nova et elegantissima scripta in lucem exeunt : atque inter caetera, Dialectica illa celebris ad Aristotelis leges methodice et pulchre conformata, quotannis nova novis typis cuditur, veteribus et annuis exemplaribus cunctis distractis ²². Logicae leges ubique personant (15) methodi toties decantatae, κατὰ παντός, καθ' αὐτό, καθ' ὅλου πρῶτον ²³.

— *Ramus a sociis divellitur : fit gymnasiarchus Praelleus, et professor accuratus.*

Atque ut in frequenti et numeroso populo, cujus terra capax vel regio alumna esse nequit, colonia emittitur, sic in isto tanto coetu tantaque frequentia auditorum, cum locus capiendi non esset, alia sedes quaeritur amplior. Bartholomaeus ipse a sodalitia divellitur; novam coloniam ad Rhemos transfert, instituta ibi recenti per Carolum Cardinalem eundemque Archiepiscopum Rhemensem Academia. Ramus Praelleam scholam sortitur. Talaeus in Bellouaca docet, deinde suo se Ramo iterum adjungit. Memini autem me narrantem audire Ramum solitum, cum in Praelleam scholam [(ubi tum mera erat solitudo)] venisset, ludumque aperuisset, factum esse concursum etiam solito frequentiore numerosioreque.

Ramus novo more tonsus, et varii in eo gentium ritus.

Atque ut tum moris erat Lutetiae gymnasiis (a quo postea plurimum abhorruit) ludos exhibuisse populo, Tragoediam Comoediamque recitandam proposuisse. In theatro autem submonitor ac dictator seu choragus, cum attonso solus ipse capite cerneretur, a populo propter

²² Ramus, *Dialecticae partitiones*, 1543 (Ong, I). Nancel is more or less exactly right, as can be seen from Ong, I-17 and 237-47.

²³ Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, I, 4, 73b.

— *Ramus is set free by his Cardinal patron.*

In this crisis there appears, as the saying goes, a *deus ex machina* : Ramus has recourse to Cardinal Charles de Guise, as to a tutelary deity, whose friendship he had won in his early days as Archbishop of Rheims, when Ramus was a young fellow-student of his, as I have said. The Cardinal is able to defend Ramus because of the influence he has over Henry the Second, against his accusers, and the troublesome and inconvenient patrons, or rather disturbers of the world of letters. He regains his full freedom to teach and write. His teaching post is restored and renewed, his enthusiasm for study increased and his reputation begins to grow.

— *Ramus's excellent "Dialectic".*

He publishes some outstanding new works, among which is the celebrated *Dialectic*, conforming methodically and beautifully to Aristotle's laws, freshly reprinted each year when the old copies of that year are sold out. The logical laws of method, of predication of all, *per se*, and universal attributes, are often repeated and ring out everywhere.

— *Ramus is separated from his colleagues : he becomes the principal of the Collège de Presles and a diligent professor.*

Now just as in a crowded, populous nation whose land-area is not adequate to nourish it, a colony is sent out, so, when the place is unable to contain such a great gathering and crowd of listeners, a more spacious one is sought. Barthélemy leaves the college, taking with him a new colony to Rheims, to the University recently established there by Charles, Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims. The Collège de Presles falls to Ramus; Talon first goes to teach in the Collège de Beauvais, and then comes back to join his friend Ramus. I remember hearing Ramus say that when he first came to teach in the Collège de Presles (which was quite deserted at the time) and started his own school there, he attracted an even greater audience than usual.

— *Ramus has a strange new hair-style; various national customs in this matter.*

As was then the custom in the Paris colleges, though he later abandoned the idea, he put on plays for the public, both comedies and tragedies. He himself appeared in the theatre as the prompter, and director or principal actor, and since he was the only one with his hair cut short, because of his unusual appearance and dress, the public began

insolentem eo tempore habitum figuramque corporis Marrabeccum dici coeptum, et pro Italo, qui tum Parisiis invisissimi erant, aestimatum, donec caussa detonsi capitis, et vera nationis patuit origo. Ut enim Romae aliquando, sic in Gallia contigit, ut populus Regem imitatus

- (16) (... totus componitur orbis
Principis ad nutum, *vel*,
Regis ad exemplum ... *ait ille*) ²⁴,

modo comam aleret, barbam raderet, ut sub Francisco Rege moris erat et Romae sub Adriano, modo capite attonso barbam nutriret, ut Romae sub Commodio, nostris autem temporibus sub Henrico II contigit. // 3^v Nunc denique sub Henrico III, ejus filio, et capillitium et barbam ponere juvat, ne pilus ullus viri boni supersit, ut Tullius olim jocabatur ²⁵.

— *Rami ophthalmia, ex quo, et per quem curata, quoque modo; historia.*

Porro monui non ita pridem, ophthalmiae Ramum propter lucubrationes immodicas fuisse obnoxium : quae illi potissima radendi capitis occasio, et saluberrima (sicuti adstantibus nobis saepe retulit) curatio fuit. Qui cum popularem suum *Jacobum* Sylvium, insignem [eo tempore] medicae rei apud Parisios professorem, super hac re consulisset, conspicatus hominem medicus, ut erat subausterus ac subrusticus, interrogavit cujatis esset? Picardum ille se esse respondit. Quo nomine, quamve artem profiteretur? Ramum sese, et literarum humaniorum doctorem asserenti, "Audivi", subjicit medicus, "de te. Tu nimio te studio conficis; tu tibi, Caecias velut nubes, ita malum tua culpa accersis. Denique tu non sapis, qui ita pernoctes atque lucubres. (17) Tu mihi" (semper enim tuiipsando, ut aiunt, hominem alloquebatur) "dimisso tantisper, vel certe remisso studiorum fervore, vini generosi pintam" (sic vocant nostrates, ex Graeco *πίνω*, certum mensurae genus circiter bilibris, heminas Atticas duas quodammodo capientis et aequantis) "haurito impiger, atque intra triduum sanaberis. Ita enim edixit Hippocrates, Aph. 31. lib. 6 : 'Dolores oculorum meri potio soluit'." ²⁶ Paret Ramus monenti medico, atque,

... Impiger hausit,
Spumantem pateram, et pleno se proluit auro (12) ²⁷.

(12) Nancel wrote "hausit" and "alveo".

²⁴ Claudian, *De quarto consulatu Honorii*, 299-300.

²⁵ Cicero, *Pro Quinto Roscio Comoedo*, 7, 20.

²⁶ Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, 6, 31.

²⁷ Virgil, *Aeneis*, 1, 738-9.

to call him a wop, taking him for an Italian, a hated race in Paris in those days, until the reason for his close-cropped head and his true country of origin became known. As once happened in Rome, so now it happened in France that the people, imitating the king,

“The whole world is arranged according to the will of the prince”, or

“according to the example of the king”,

as Claudian says, at one time grew long hair and shaved their beards off, as was the custom under Francis the First, and in Rome under Hadrian; then they cut their hair short, and grew beards, as happened in Rome under Commodus, and in our time under Henry the Second; and now, finally, under his son Henry the Third, people like to cut off both hair and beards, “in case a single hair of a good man remains” as Cicero said jokingly.

Ramus's eye-disease, its cause, and how and by whom it was cured; an anecdote.

Moreover, as I said before, Ramus was subject to inflammation of the eyes because of excessive working at night, and this was his main reason for cutting off his hair, and in fact it provided a salutary cure, as he often related in our presence. When he consulted on this matter his fellow-countryman Jacques Dubois, a distinguished professor of medicine in Paris at the time, the doctor, being a rough and ready sort of man, asked him where he came from. He replied that he was a native of Picardy. When he asked him his name and his profession, Ramus said who he was and told him that he was a teacher of literature. “I have heard about you”, put in the doctor, “you are killing yourself with overwork. You bring on your trouble by your own fault, as the north-east wind brings the clouds. You have no sense to stay up all night working like this. I want you”, he said, using all the time the familiar form of address, as they say, “to abandon in the meantime, or at least to put off, this excessive study, and drink straight off a pint of good quality wine” (this is the word our people use today for a measure containing two pounds, more or less equal to two Attic *heminae* — it comes from the Greek “I drink”), “and you will be cured in three days. For this is what Hippocrates decreed in his *Aphorisms*, Book 6, No. 31, “A drink of pure wine relieves eye-pains”. Ramus obeys the doctor's advice, and

“instantly drank the foaming bowl and washed himself completely in the gold”.

Nunquam dolor acerbior; recruderunt omnia, phlegmone ambos oculos occupat. Qui nuper nuscitiosus vel luscitiosus erat, fit caecus. Ad medicum recurrit; mutat [ille] importuni genus remedii; ophthalmia percuratur. Ad pensum redit gnavior, et intermissi temporis jacturam nova majore diligentia compensat.

— *De Praelleo gymnasio, Rami et N. schola : N. quandiu cum R. versatus.*

Sed quia Praelleum illud gymnasium Ramo fuit domicilium sedesque ad ultimum usque vitae spiritum, de hoc pauca obiter dicam : quando quidem et haec mihi studiorum alumna domus fuit, et inter duodecim pueros alumnos⁽¹³⁾ ex fundatoris olim prima institutione ordinatos, mihi adhuc puero locus illic sortito obtigit. In quo per annos sex aut circiter, decursis omnibus ordinibus, lauream philosophicam adeptus, demum per annos complures tum privatim, tum publice literas Graecas et Latinas didici docuique; non minore (18) utique tempore cum Ramo meo propemodum, quam cum suo Platone fertur Aristoteles, per annos viginti versatus⁽¹⁴⁾. Hoc Parisiense gymnasium ad Carmelitas situm, haud procul a platea dicta Malbertina, fundatorem // 4^r quendam suum habuit hominem praedivitem, Advocatum vel Procuratorem regium nomine Raoldum de Praellis, ex agro Laudunensi in Picardia ortum.

— *Rami cum Nic. Sapiente pactum pro Praelleo.*

Quo autem tempore Ramus illuc accessit, circa annum Domini 1544, ludimagister erat Nicolaus Sapiens (Sapientis Sorbonico quodam more et titulo nuncupari malebat) homo jam grandaevus, et ex catarrho, paralysi alterutrius lateris correptus ac resolutus, ut nec incedere nec libere fari aut eloqui posset. Cum hoc Ramus paciscitur, ut primarias sub ejus auspiciis partes obiret, velut alter gymnasiarchus : ita tamen ut seni de suo victu et domicilio laute ac decenter prospiceretur. Sed oborta inde quadam controversia, et quaerentibus nonnullis senem de ponte dejici, res ad Senatum delata est: conditiones utrinque praescriptae sunt, uterque res suas agere coepit. Senex privatim degere, et quietam vitam per annos complusculos ibidem agere.

— *Ramus gymnasiarcha Praelleus perdiligens, ejusdemque doctrinae ratio.*

Ramus autem, velut Chremes ille *ἐαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος* apud Teren-

⁽¹³⁾ ms inserts after *alumnos* “(bursarios vocant)”.

⁽¹⁴⁾ ms adds *fuisse*.

Never was his pain more acute; all his troubles started up afresh, and both his eyes become inflamed, and instead of being half-blind or weak-sighted he becomes blind. He hurries back to the doctor who alters this unsuitable kind of medicine, and the inflammation is cured completely. He returns to work with renewed zeal, and makes up for the loss of time by an increase of diligence.

— *On the Collège de Presles, the school of Ramus and Nancel; how long Nancel frequented Ramus.*

Since this Collège de Presles was Ramus's home and place of work until the last breath of his life, I shall say a little about it in passing, seeing that it was the house which nourished my own studies, and that when I was a young boy I managed to obtain a place among the twelve bursars chosen according to the terms of the founder's original disposition. Here for six years or thereabouts I went through the various stages and obtained the degree of philosophy, and then for several years more, both privately and publicly I taught Greek and Latin there, spending altogether about twenty years with Ramus, the same time as Aristotle is said to have spent with Plato. This Parisian college was situated near the Carmelite convent, not far from the Place Maubert, and had been founded by a certain Raoul de Presles, a very rich man from Laon in Picardy, who was King's Advocate or Procurator.

— *Ramus's agreement about Presles with Nicolas Lesage.*

At the time Ramus went there, about the year of Our Lord 1544, the principal of the college was Nicolas Lesage (he preferred to be called "Sapientis" after the manner of Sorbonne titles), a man already advanced in years and so affected by catarrh and weakened by paralysis of both his sides, that he was not able to walk, nor to talk or make speeches with ease. Ramus made an agreement with him that he would carry out the main duties under his aegis, like a second college principal, on condition that comfortable and decent provision be made for the old man's food and lodging. But a disagreement of some sort arose, and since some people wanted the old man to be debarred, the matter was referred to the Parliament. Conditions were imposed on both parties and each of them began to look after his own affairs. The old man led a quiet, private life there for many years.

— *Ramus a very diligent principal of Presles; his teaching-method.*

Ramus, however, like that Chremes in Terence's play *The Self-Tor-*

tium ²⁸, agellum velut conductum aut nuper coemptum gnaviter excolere incipit, accersitis quasi operis ejusdem sociis atque adiutoribus, nempe praeceptoribus utriusque linguae doctissimis, qui bini singulis ordinibus praefecti, quod antea numquam (19) Parisiensis Academia viderat, literas Graecas Latinasque horis alternis docerent ac profiterentur. Sed Ramo, velut Herculi Theseus, sic Talaeus adjunctus socius, mirifice docendo ac praelegendo profecit: de quo iterum iterumque postea dicam.

— *Laus Praellei collegii, et Rami; Ramus etiam adversariis proficit, quf.*

Hoc autem ausim vere et libere profiteri, nullum fuisse tunc temporis Lutetiae gymnasium majori auditorum frequentia celebratum, nullum accuratiore doctrinae genere excultum. Sic ut de eo dici idem queat, quod M. Tullius de Isocratis ludo extulit: E Praelleo, velut ex equo Trojano innumerabiles viros eruditissimos, et utriusque linguae peritissimos exiisse ²⁹. Ita ut per annos complures nullus esset politioris literaturae studiosus, nullus bonarum artium peritus, nullus bene et methodice institutus, nullus Graece et Latine gnaviter serioque edoctus, qui ex Rami officina non prodierit, Theologus, Medicus, Jurisconsultus, Praeses, Consiliarius, Patronus, aut quisquis denique liberalis professionis nomine celebris, aut magistratus gerendi munere dignissimus fuit. Possem proferre plurimos, sed vereor ne recensendo fiam prolixior: quia forum totum Parisiense talibus viribus clarissimis refertum est, omnes Academiae iisdem personant, omnes urbes Gallicae abundant, omnes exterae nationes Rami et Ramisticae doctrinae factae sunt participes. Et quod magis mireris, qui Ramum insectabantur, ii ab illo discebant aut ornatius dicere, aut disserere acutius, aut pronuntiare elegantius, (20) aut actionem gestumque componere artificiosius atque decentius, ἡ κατὰ τὸ πρέπον, [ambitiosius]; aut eloquentiae cum philosophia conjunctionis // 4^v modum, aut poetas et oratores et philosophos exponendi novam quandam et majoribus inauditam et incognitam inassuetamque methodum, [imitari conabantur]. Atque haec Rami privata fuit institutio doctrinaeque; haec in Praelleo suo sedula assiduaque professio.

— *Rami regii professoris institutio, et fama mirabilis.*

Jam vero in testimonium bene navatae operae et doctrinae cujusdam

²⁸ See Terence, *Heautontimoroumenos*, I, 1, 145-6, "mercedem quasi talenta ad quindecim / Coegi: agrum hunc mercatus sum: hic me exerceo". It is Menedemus, not Chremes who is speaking.

²⁹ Cicero, *De oratore*, 2, 22, 94.

mentor skilfully began to cultivate this little field as though he had recently taken out a lease on it or bought it; he enlisted as helpers and co-workers in his task highly qualified teachers in both languages, and appointed two to each of the classes to teach Greek and Latin at alternate hours — something which the University of Paris had never seen before. Talon became Ramus's ally, as Theseus did of Hercules, and made wonderful progress as a teacher and lecturer. I shall have more to say about him later on.

— *Praise of the Collège de Presles and of Ramus; how even his opponents profit from him.*

I make so bold as to say openly that there was no college in Paris at the time which could boast of a greater crowd of listeners, none distinguished by a more perfect kind of teaching; it is possible to say the same about it as Cicero declared about the school of Isocrates : that from Presles, as from the Trojan horse, there emerged countless learned men proficient in both languages. The result was that for many years there was no student of good literature, no one skilled in the liberal arts, no one well and methodically educated, no one with solid and serious schooling in Greek and Latin, who was not a product of Ramus's workshop, be he theologian, doctor, lawyer, president, councillor, advocate, or finally anyone either famous in the liberal professions or capable of fulfilling the office of magistrate. I could mention many names, but I am afraid that in listing them I would become too prolix, since all the Parisian law-courts are crammed with these eminent men, their names resound through every university, they are to be found in abundance in every town in France, and since all foreign nations can now share in the teaching of Ramus and his followers. What you will find most remarkable is that the very same people who spoke ill of Ramus have learned from him either how to make more polished speeches, to argue with greater penetration, to declaim more elegantly, or to prepare their delivery and gestures more skilfully, more fittingly or more admirably; or they attempt to imitate his manner of uniting eloquence with philosophy, or his new and unaccustomed method of explaining poets, orators and philosophers, which our ancestors neither knew nor had even heard of. This then was Ramus's method in his private teaching, this was his diligent and assiduous practice in his Collège de Presles.

— *The teaching and marvellous reputation of Ramus, the Royal Professor.*
In the year 1551, in recognition of work well-performed and of teaching

singularis, anno 1551 P. Ramus sui Cardinalis Lotharingi commendatione apud Henricum Regem, Regius professor instituitur, maximo pene dixerim totius Academiae Parisiensis voto applausuque, sed paucorum invidiorum frustra refragante ac fremente protervia. Dies habendae orationi publice indicitur. Fit concursus Academiae totius ad oratorem longe disertissimum audiendum; tota Curia, totus Clerus eodem effunditur: locus licet amplissimus aulae Cameracensis, capiendo non est. Multi abeunt minime audito eo, quem audire percupiebant; nonnulli prae turba prope exanimis efferuntur; denique (ut ipse scribit in prooemio orationis eodem die habitae) duo millia audientium non audivere ³⁰.

— *Rami in regia professione praelectiones et commentationes, propositumque egregium.*

Deinceps autem, quo in genere facile primas omnium tenebat, orationes Ciceronis explicare aggressus est eas, quae a Tullio in consulatu fuerant habitae: ut pro Qu. Rabirio, Agrarias et Catilinaras, in quas (21) extant ejusdem Rami commentationes ³¹. Cum autem in eo explicationis genere excelleret, et toti populo gratissimus esset, animum adjecit, ut orationum Ciceronianarum volumen totum a prima concione, quae est pro P. Quintio, ordiretur; ac si vita sospes daretur et incolumis, ad extremum per annos deinceps plures perduceret: egregium opus, simodo absolvisset, quod instituerat. Percurrit autem eodem filo et serie orationes pro Sexto Roscio Amerino, pro Qu. Roscio Comoedo, et Verrinas ordine septem. Ubi et substitit, consiliumque mutavit.

— *Mos Rami in commentando; Rami commentaria in decem Cic. orationes desiderantur.*

Reversus domum, ex more, praelecta sibi aut enuntiata *ταχυγράφοις* exscribebat: quae singula, nostra manu notis *καλλιγράφοις* descripta, domi cum aliis longe plurimis monumentis premebat, eo quidem consilio ut ederentur: non tamen velut ab ipsomet authore invulganda, sed a

³⁰ Ramus, *Oratio initio suae professionis habita*, 1551, (Ong, 201). Nancel has either misunderstood, or copied out wrongly, what Ramus wrote in the preface to this speech. Ramus is claiming that two thousand people *did* hear the speech, not that they did not hear it: "Carolo Lotharingo Cardinali, Mecoenati suo, Petrus Ramus, S. Mitto ad te professionis nostrae praefationem in tanta hominum frequentia habitam, ut non modo de concione permulti pene exanimati subducti sint, sed ipsum oratorem ex tam multiplici tamque denso spiritu habituque orta ravis propemodum oppresserit. Itaque leges nonnulla quae duo millia hominum laudem tuae virtutis audientium, non audivere".

³¹ *M. T. Ciceronis Pro Caio Rabirio ... oratio, Petri Rami ... praelectionibus illus-*

of exceptional quality, Ramus is appointed Royal Professor on the recommendation of his friend the Cardinal of Lorraine to King Henry, and I might almost say at the supreme wish and acclamation of the whole University of Paris, if it was not for the impudent grumbling and resistance of a few envious men. The day of his inaugural lecture is publicly announced, and the whole University gathers together in order to hear this most eloquent of orators. All the lawyers, all the clergy crowd in, so that even the capacious hall of the Collège de Cambrai cannot hold them all. Many go away scarcely having heard at all the person they so much wanted to hear; some are carried out almost lifeless because of the crowd, and finally, as he writes himself in the preface to the speech he made that day, there are two thousand would-be listeners who were not able to hear him.

— *Ramus's explanations and commentaries during his Royal Professorship, and a wonderful project of his.*

Next he devoted himself to a kind of writing in which he easily excelled, commenting on those speeches which Cicero made during his consulate, such as *For Qu. Rabirius*, *On the Agrarian Law*, and *Against Catiline*, for which Ramus's commentaries have been published. Since he excelled in this kind of commentary and found favour with all the public, he made up his mind to go through the whole collection of Cicero's speeches, beginning with the first of them, that is *For P. Quintius*, and if he should live long enough, to carry the plan through to completion over many years : it would have been an outstanding work if only he had completed what he had projected. He ran through in order the speeches *For Sextus Roscius from Ameria*, *For Quintus Roscius Actor*, and the seven *Speeches against Verres*. At this point he stopped and changed his plans.

— *Ramus's manner of commentating; his commentaries on the ten speeches of Cicero are missing.*

When he returned home he used to jot down in shorthand what he had lectured and commented on; after we had copied out these notes in our own hand in a beautiful script, he kept them at home together with other far more numerous manuscripts, with the intention of publishing them,

strata, 1551, (Ong, 203); *M. Tullii Ciceronis De lege agraria ... orationes tres, Petri Rami ... praelectionibus illustrata*, 1551, (Ong, 204); *M. Tullii Ciceronis In L. Catilinam orationes quatuor, Petri Rami ... praelectionibus illustratae*, 1553, (Ong, 206).

quodam suorum excepta, eo quasi inscio inconsultoque emitterentur, quam ille mihi provinciam pridem dederat, ut sub meo nomine prodirent. Sed nescio qua cunctatione et mora, suppressae sunt, necdum lucem viderunt, paratae tamen jamdudum lucem aspicere, mea uti dixi, manu transcriptae in decem istas Ciceronis orationes, breves et acutae, et utrumque praesertim artificium Logicum et Rhetoricum complexae commentationes. Quae nunc ubi sint, et a quo post mortem Rami cum multis aliis ejusdem scriptis ac nostris, per plagium et furtum sublatae, nescio : quia annis iam aliquot urbem (22) et scholam Praelleam, et Rami contubernium ante ejus caedem reliqueram. Siquis autem edat mutato aut ⁽¹⁵⁾ suppresso authoris nomine, ecce jam hoc nostro indicio fur [et plagiarius] detegitur : neque erit admodum difficile iis, qui Rami phrasim et methodum explicandi callent, furtum internoscere. // 5^r

— *Rami commentationes in Virgilium, et ejusdem scopus : N. Theocriti imitationem in Virg. Bucolicis designat.*

Porro facto illo in oratoriis progressu, animi recreandi et lectoris oblectandi gratia, voluit ad poeticam divertere : [(ad quam tamen minus natus aut propensus erat)] et quo prius more Ciceronis orationes universas ordine praelegendo percurrere ⁽¹⁶⁾ destinarat, eodem stylo Virgilium totum explicare (o praeclarum institutum, si quidem coeptis institisset!) proposuit. Atque adeo ab ipsis Buccolicis exorsus, licet ridentibus et cachinnantibus invidis atque obtrectatoribus quibusdam, ad Georgica pervenit, et utrumque opus egregio conatu evolvit explicuitque ³². In quod utrumque extant ejusdem commentarii ut faciles, sic admodum populares et methodici. De quo hoc obiter dicam : ut in Eclogis Theocritum, sic in Georgicis Hesiodum et Aristotelem imitando secutum fuisse Virgilium; nostra autem opera in singulis Virgilianis Eclogis per Ramum commentario illustratis, totum Theocritum, vel Theocriti ipsius imitationem, citato Graeco versu multiplici, fuisse indicatam. Quod quo possem utrumque conferendo assequi promptius, me assiduum suum auditorem exscriptoremque commentationum omnium, (23) memoriter Virgilium addiscere Ramus [ipse] praecepit, ut demum facilius in Theocrito

⁽¹⁵⁾ ms *edat mutato ac*, text *erat mutato aut*.

⁽¹⁶⁾ text *procurrere*.

³² *P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, P. Rami ... praelectionibus exposita*, 1555, (Ong, 473); *P. Virgilii Maronis Georgica, P. Rami ... praelectionibus illustrata*, 1556, (Ong, 479).

not indeed that they should be edited by the author himself, but rather by one of his school, as though without his knowledge and without consulting him. At first he gave this job to me, in order that they should appear in my name. But because of some hesitation and delay, I am not sure what, the brief and penetrating commentaries on the ten speeches of Cicero, dealing especially with the logical and rhetorical technique, transcribed by my hand as I have said, were held back and never saw the light of day, though they had long since been prepared for this. Where they are now, and by whom they were plagiarised and stolen after the death of Ramus, together with many other works of his and of mine, I do not know, because I had left the city, the Collège de Presles and Ramus's house some years before his murder. If anyone publishes any of these, after changing or suppressing the name of the author, he is shown to be a thief and a plagiarist by the clues we have given, and it will not be very difficult for those who are familiar with Ramus's style and method of commentary to detect the theft.

— *Ramus's commentaries on Virgil and his aim in them; Nancel points out the imitations of Theocritus in Virgil's Georgics.*

When he had made this progress in oratory, he decided to turn his attention to poetics, for his own recreation and for the reader's pleasure (though he had less natural inclination for it), and just as he had originally intended to run through and comment on all Cicero's speeches in order, he now proposed to explain in the same way the whole of Virgil — a fine project, if he had persevered in his undertaking! Starting from the *Bucolics*, he went on the *Georgics*, in spite of the laughter and mockery of some envious detractors, and made a distinguished attempt at unravelling and explaining each of these works. His commentaries on the two works have been published, and they are simple, popular and methodical. I shall say this about them in passing, that Virgil imitated Theocritus in the *Eclogues*, and Hesiod and Aristotle in the *Georgics*, and we ourselves have indicated in each of the individual eclogues of Virgil which Ramus commented on, every quotation from Theocritus, or any imitation of him, with extensive citation of the Greek text. Ramus himself made me listen to him attentively, copy out all his commentaries, and learn Virgil by heart so that I should be able to make the comparison more readily, and end up by easily recognizing Virgil in Theocritus or Theocritus in Virgil. When he had read through and commented on both the *Bucolics* and the *Georgics* of Virgil, and had

Virgilium, vel in Virgilio Theocritum possem agnoscere. Perlectis autem atque illustratis utrisque tum Bucolicis, tum Georgicis Virgilianis, cum ad Aeneidem velut eodem Thesei filo percurrendam, praelegendam, commentandam accingeretur, haud scio qua de causa interpellatus, vixdum primo libro excurso, consilium atque institutum mutavit; sicque a Cicerone, et a Virgilio digressus, alia studia amplecti coepit.

— *Mos Rami in legendo [paginatim].*

De quo etiam hoc obiter dixerim : in tot orationibus Ciceronianis, tot libris Virgilianis explicandis, eam homini fuisse consuetudinem, quotidie paginam unam nec minus nec amplius ut praelegeret : ex quo paginarius Ramus convitio ludicro dici solebat. Sic tamen diurna sibi pensa quotidie demensus, multa quotidie legendo multum proficiebat.

— *Alia Rami commentaria; Rami Ciceronianus.*

Inter istas vero oratorias et poeticas commentationes Caesar de moribus Gallorum deque militia, et Brutus Ciceronis, qui est de Claris oratoribus, intercessit, quem aggressurus legendo, per dies totos octo vel plures de Ciceroniana imitatione magno apparatu et insigni eloquentia declamavit. Cujus extant conciones in unum librum reductae seu redactae, qui Ciceronianus inscribitur : opus sane perelegans, et Cicero-nem discere volenti pernecessarium, ut sciat et quem, et in quo, et quomodo debeat imitari ³³.

— *Ramus declamat propositis in charta notulis; Rami eloquentia.*

Hoc autem scire juvabit, hunc Ramo nostro morem fuisse, ut de (24) re qualibet, vel Gorgiae ⁽¹⁷⁾ in modum thesi posita dicturo sufficerent notae breves, quas in chartula gerebat, et obliquis oculis dicendo inspectabat : ut istis velut rerum notis admonitus, quod Antonius per digitos solebat apud Cicero-nem, sic Ramus continua oratione dicere pergeret, hora tamen non amplius una. Vidi enim saepe et saepe audiui (qui librum lecturo [puer] porrigere, quique legenti juxta adesse solebam, ut siquid imprudenti excideret, si accentus vitiosus forte, aut aliud aliquid absurdum incogitanti elaberetur, veste adducta submonerem) // 5^v tribus lineis in charta descriptis et annotatis, horam integram solitum orare, et nulli hominum sui saeculi imitabili orationis suavitate ac lepore

⁽¹⁷⁾ text *Gorgiae*, ms appears to be *Georgicum* or *Georgico*.

³³ Ramus, *Ciceronianus*, 1557, (Ong, 487); *Liber de moribus veterum Gallorum*, (Ong, 500); *Liber de Caesaris militia*, 1559, (Ong, 506).

proceeded to the study and commentary of the *Aeneid* (as though following the same thread of Theseus), he was hindered for some reason which I do not know; he had scarcely finished going through the first book when he changed his intended plan, and turning away from Cicero and Virgil, he began to devote himself to other subjects of study.

— *Ramus's custom of commentating on a page at a time.*

I shall say this also about him now that in his explanation of all these speeches of Cicero and the books of Virgil, his daily custom was to lecture on one page, neither more nor less, and because of this Ramus used to be insultingly nicknamed "the page-turner". Yet by measuring out his allotted daily duties in this way, he profited greatly by getting through so much each day.

— *Other commentaries of Ramus; his "Ciceronian".*

Between these oratorical and poetical commentaries, however, there appeared his edition of Caesar's *Customs of the Gauls*, and his *Military Science*, and of Cicero's *Brutus*, or *On Famous Orators*. Before he began lecturing on this, for eight full days or more he spoke with a great display of brilliant eloquence about Ciceronian imitation. These speeches of his have been printed, collected together in one volume with the title *The Ciceronian*, certainly a most elegant work and essential to someone who wants to study Cicero, in order to know about the man he should imitate, and how and in what way precisely he should do it.

— *Ramus speaks from short written notes : his eloquence.*

It will be of interest to note what was the custom of our friend Ramus : when he was to talk about a proposed topic, rather in the manner of Gorgias, he made do with brief notes on a piece of paper which he held in his hand and glanced down at as he was speaking, so that he was reminded by these notes of things, as it were, as Cicero reports Antony doing on his fingers, and continued to speak with fluency, but without overrunning the hour. I used to hand him the book when he wanted to read out a quotation, and used to stand near him as he read, so that if anything escaped his notice, if, for example, a false quantity, or some other silly mistake slipped out by chance when he wasn't paying attention, I should prompt him by tugging at his coat; and I often saw, and often heard him declaim for a whole hour, with three lines of writing jotted down on his piece of paper, and deliver a fluent and elegant speech with an urbanity and wit which could not be matched by any man of

diserte et eleganter concionari. Diceret Pitho illam sive Ennii Suadam, suadaeque medullam in ejus labris sessitare, ut olim de Pericle Eupolis dicere solebat ³⁴. Neque vero erubescere chartulam manu ostentare, et videntibus omnibus testimonia Graeca Latinaque ex ea recitare, aut notas dicendorum, ut aiebam, venari. Id enim se Julii Caesaris et Cicero-nis ipsius imitatione fretum facere jactabat. Haec illius fuit per annos plures publica professio, hi libri quos publice praelegit, quos commen-tariis illustravit suis, partim editis, partim edendis si supervixisset. Nisi siqua ejus monumenta, ut conquestus sum, furto sunt praerepta in illa immani ejusdem bibliothecae expilatione, de qua paulo post dicam.

— (25) *Ramus ab eloquentia transit ad mathemata, a notis ad ignota. Ramus eodem tempore discit et docet mathemata, et literas Graecas; Rami prima studia in Graecis.*

Cum autem Ramus in foro oratorio regnaret, nemoque post Cicero-nem ipsum, ut reor, inventus sit, qui majore luce [diceret, majore] facundia ⁽¹⁸⁾ oraret vel oratores explicaret (et hos quidem melius atque appositius, quam poetas norat explicare), pertaesus illius consuetae profes-sionis ad mathematicas artes animum applicuit, quas eodem prope tem-pore et didicit et docuit. Sic [enim] ⁽¹⁹⁾ ille solebat, ubi literas Graecas aut mathemata domi discebat *αὐτοδίδακτος*, vel adhibito submonitore, eodem tempore utraque publice legere et profiteri : hoc sibi calcar ingens ad discendum esse sentiens, ut saepe observavi. Nam quo primum anno ad illum accessi circiter 1548, eodem videbam Joannem Baugerium summo mane ad eum ventitantem homunculum, quicum de Grammatica Graeca deque elementis linguae Graecae, declinando, conjugando, themate investigando, constructione elicienda, et similibus minutis rebus grammaticis communicaret; deinde post aliquot horas, quae praeviderat, didicerat per se, ab illo audierat, ea publice legeret doceret-que, eodem tempore et doctor et discipulus.

— *Ramus habuit mathematicos domesticos; de Jo. Paena; Jo. Paena quomodo regius [professor] institutus.*

Sic etiam utique in mathematicis, cum istarum artium per annos prope viginti nihil attigisset (initio enim suae professionis privatae illius

⁽¹⁸⁾ text *facundia*, ms *et facundia*.

⁽¹⁹⁾ *Enim* is crossed out in the ms.

³⁴ Cicero, *Brutus*, 15, 59. Nancel is here paraphrasing the text rather than quoting.

his age. You would have said that Pitho herself, or Suada as Ennius calls her, and the very quintessence or marrow of persuasion dwelt on his lips, as Eupolis once said about Pericles. Nor was he ashamed to let the paper be seen in his hand, and with everyone looking on to read out Greek and Latin quotations, or to refer to the notes of what he wanted to say, as I have told you. He used to boast that in doing this he was following the example of Julius Caesar and of Cicero himself. This then was what his public teaching was like over many years, these are the books he lectured on publicly, and illuminated with his own commentaries, some of which he published and others he would have published had he lived. However, I have already bemoaned the fact that some of his manuscripts were stolen in the barbaric plundering of his library, as I shall soon relate.

— *Ramus goes on from eloquence to mathematics, from the known to the unknown. He learns and teaches both mathematics and Greek at the same time. His first Greek studies.*

Although Ramus was supremely good in oratory, and though there has been nobody since Cicero in my opinion who has spoken, delivered a speech, or explained the orators with greater lucidity, or more eloquently, (and he did explain them better and more pertinently than he did the poets), yet he became tired of his customary subject, and applied himself to the mathematical arts, learning and teaching them more or less at the same time. His custom, as he learned either Greek or mathematics at home, either by himself or with the help of a prompter, was to teach them both publicly and to lecture on them at the same time, feeling that this was a considerable spur to learning as I have often observed. For in the very year I first went to him, about 1548, I used to see Jean Baugier, a tiny little man, who used to come early in the morning and discuss Greek grammar with him, and the elements of the Greek language, declining, conjugating, examining a theme, spotting constructions, and treating similar precise grammatical matters. Then after a few hours he would lecture on and teach what he had looked through beforehand and learned by himself and what he had heard from him, being at the same time teacher and pupil.

— *Ramus kept some mathematicians at his house; Jean Péna, and how he was appointed Royal Professor.*

It was exactly the same for mathematics : he did not touch them at all for almost twenty years (for at the beginning of his private teaching

apud Cenomanos, et in Mariano, sex priores Euclidis libros, et Sphaeram praelegerat) domi alebat Mathematicos, quibuscum de his studiis conferret. Hos autem ego illi adesse cognovi, et eosdem simul (26) audiui : Joannem Magnienum doctorem medicum, Fridericum Reisnerum Germanum, Forcadellum, et Joannem Paenam³⁵ meum condiscipulum [natione Provincialem]; quem ego Ramo primus in notitiam dedi, ut Italico caractere (quem graphice depingebat) eximia quaedam⁽²⁰⁾ Rami scripta, atque selectas magnatibus mittendas epistolas describeret. Hic apud nos in Praelleo commorabatur plane [solus ac] solitarius ac nemini sese obtrudens, in bibliotheca semper abditus, satis tenui cultu victuque contentus, homo parvus [et gracilis] et valde macilentus, [ut cumque *φθινώδης* ut exitus docuit], mirum vero in modum studiosus ac perdiligens. Namque juvenis adhuc et meus aequalis, omnes quotquot erant, Regios quotidie Lutetiae professores auscultabat. // 6^r Quo ego neminem id aetatis discipulum in urbe cognovi nec audiui doctiorem, neminem in omnium artium, linguarum disciplinarumque genere magis serio versatum. Qui tandem immoderato sese studio conficiens, vixdum triginta natus annos, phthisi tabeque consumptus, summae spei juvenis, fato immaturo concessit, in collegium [tamen] professorum Regiorum ante ascitus.

Forcadellus etiam Ramo adjuvante, Regiam professionem mathematicum Gallico idiomate docendorum consecutus est. Joannes autem Paena post aliquot cum Ramo communicata annorum studia in mathematicis, eodem opitulante ac solicitante promoventeque, Regius professor designatus est novo exemplo : (27) scilicet adstantibus Cardinale Lotharingo et Regiis professoribus omnibus, et doctissimis quibusque spectantibus audientibusque, aperto forte Graeco Euclidis libro, in rem praesentem atque ex tempore praescripta et proposita sibi exponens [ac demonstrans], et ad interrogata singula apte appositeque respondens.

— *Ramus discit, et docet suos submonitores; Rami labor in discenda mathesi.*

His (inquam) mathematicum non doctoribus quidem, sed condiscipulis usus est Ramus per annos complures; a quibus ut ipse multa didicit, sic illi ab eodem, mutuo colloquio, et collatis velut mutuis studiorum

(20) text *quaedam*, ms *quadam*.

³⁵ Further details about these mathematicians and their work can be obtained from the book by Verdonk listed in the bibliography.

at the Collège du Mans, and at the Marian College, he had taught the first six books of Euclid and the *Sphere*); but later he supported mathematicians at his house, in order to consult with them about these subjects. I knew that they were there with him, and I listened to them together with him : Jean Magny, a doctor, the German Frideric Reisner, and my fellow-student Jean Péna, from Provence, whom I first brought to Ramus's notice, in order to copy out in Italic characters (which he used to write beautifully clearly) certain important works of Ramus, and selected letters to be sent to distinguished people. He used to stay at Presles with us, a lonely and solitary person, never imposing himself on anyone, always hiding himself away in the library, content with poor clothes and food, a small, thin, graceful man, and somewhat consumptive as the manner of his death was to prove, but remarkably studious and diligent. When he was a young man and my contemporary, he used to go every day to hear all the Royal Professors in Paris. I never knew or heard of any student in the city at the time who was more learned, or more earnestly engaged in the study of every art, language or other subject. But in the end this promising young man wore himself out by excessive study, and when he was scarcely thirty years old, he was so exhausted with disease and consumption, that he succumbed to an untimely fate, but not before he had been appointed to a chair in the Collège Royal.

Forcadel, too, with the help of Ramus, obtained a Royal Professorship to teach mathematics in French. Jean Péna, however, after spending a few years studying mathematics jointly with Ramus, was chosen as Royal Professor, with the help and support of Ramus, and at his instigation; there was a new method of election, namely that in the presence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and all the Royal Professors, and with all other learned people looking on and listening, the Greek text of Euclid was opened at random, and without preparation he had to explain and give the proofs of the topic presented to him, and reply pertinently and accurately to all the questions that were put to him.

— *Ramus learns from and teaches his prompters; his hard work in learning mathematics.*

Ramus, I say, for many years made use of these people, not so much as teachers of mathematics, but rather as fellow-students; and just as he learned much from them, so they learned much from him by mutual discussion and a comparison of their written exercises, and they came

operis ac symbolis, multa aut didicerunt, aut melius et certius cognoverunt. Neque enim tam rudis Ramus fuit, quin jugi studio, et librorum variorum lectione, plurima etiam istis incognita erueret [e tenebris] atque [in lucem] proferret. Sed tamen ut coeperam dicere, eodem tempore Ramus et discere et docere consuevit. Ut autem mathesis una disciplinarum omnium est longe difficillima, sic primis annis videre erat Ramum cum ipsa difficultate certantem atque anhelantem, cum numerorum artem tam spinosam, tam lubricam, tamque acutam, vix omni adhibito labore et industria assequeretur. Unde illi non raro contigit in cathedra docenti, falli ex abaco, et intricatos numeros addendo subducendoque, multiplicando aut dividendo non posse resolvere; subridentibus nonnullis malevolis, et hominis inertiae tribuentibus quod artis obscuritati atque implicitae subtilitati, [non adhuc novitio doctori] (28) fuerat imputandum.

— *Rami consuetudo in praeparatione lectionis mathematicum; Ramus summo labore evadit [magnus] mathematicus.*

Quod quidem incommodum quo ipse declinaret, mane mecum quotidie velut preces numeraturus, ita Euclidis postulata et propositiones memoriter recitabat, ut modo ille prior inciperet, modo posterior diceret; quo sic mutato dicendi ordine, universas propositiones animo et memoria complecteretur. Addebat et aliud solers inventum. Accessurus ad docendum, proponebat nobis domi in abaco exempla sibi publice demonstranda; ipse notas inducebat, aut nos appingere jubebat ut, facto illo levi periculo, deinceps prodiret in arenam instructor atque securior. Qua usus industria, adversus rerum difficultatem obstinato labore ac [jugi] diligentia certans, intra annos decem aut duodecim in summum et praestantissimum evasit Mathematicum : nihil jam ut esset usquam in Euclide, aut Archimede, aut Ptolomaeo, aut quolibet mathematico tam difficile, tam abstrusum, tam reconditum, quod non erueret industria, quod non assequeretur diligentia, quod non privatim intelligeret, publiceque hactenus intentatum enodaret.

— *Rami commentationes mathematicae; Rami prooemium mathematicum.*

Testis est liber decimus Euclidis cum sequentibus, omnium difficilissimus, et perpaucis degustatus. // 6^v Testes sunt Archimedeae tenebrae illustratae, et numerus arenae dimensus, et inventa circuli quadratura, et solutum aenigma duplicandi cubi, et omnis griphorum mathematicum exantlata obscuritas. Testes sunt demonstrationes universae non modo manu scriptae, et in ordinem scriptionis reductae; sed etiam manus arti-

to know things better and with greater certainty. Ramus was not so uninformed that he could not, by assiduous study and extensive reading, snatch from the darkness and make evident much which even they did not know. However, as I started to say, Ramus's custom was to learn and teach at the same time. Now since mathematics is the most difficult of all subjects, in the early years Ramus could be seen struggling and striving against this very difficulty, since he could scarcely master this thorny, slippery and precise art of numbers, even with the greatest possible application and industry. So it was that when he was teaching from the chair he often happened to make a mistake in reckoning and to be unable to solve complex problems of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, which caused some malicious people to smile since they attributed to his lack of skill what should have been imputed to the obscurity and intricate complexity of his subject and not to the inexperience of the teacher.

— *Ramus's custom in the preparation of his mathematical lecture; because of his hard work he becomes a great mathematician.*

In order to avoid this disadvantage, each day early in the morning as though he was going to recite his prayers by heart, he used to memorize with me the postulates and propositions of Euclid; at one time he would say them first, at another he would say them after me, and so by changing the order of speaking, he would commit all the propositions to memory. He also used another clever invention. When he was going to teach he used to set before us at home on the board the examples he was going to demonstrate publicly, either making notes himself, or asking us to do so, so that after this simple test he could go into the arena better armed and with a greater sense of security. Because of such industry, and by fighting against the difficulties with relentless effort and labour, in the space of ten or twelve years he turned into a great and outstanding mathematician. There was nothing in Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy or any other mathematician, too difficult, abstruse or recondite for him to solve by his industry, or pursue with diligence, nothing which he did not understand in private, and unravel in public, though it had not previously been attempted.

— *Ramus's mathematical commentaries; his "Introduction to Mathematics".*

The tenth and following books of Euclid bear witness to this, the most difficult of all and one with which few people are familiar. Witness

ficio palpabiles, et chartis consectis, (29) [et virgulis aut laminulis ferreis], et ahenis obeliscis [seu veruculis] in formas innumeras redactis fabrefactae³⁶. Testes sunt corporum Pythagoreorum moles et αὐτόματα, quae domi per tabulatum disposita, summo studio asservabat. Testes optidorum et catoptridorum exhibitae vitro species innumerae, ut aspectando plausibiles, sic intelligendo gratissimae. Testes denique sunt libri de singulis matheseos quatuor partibus scripti; potissimum autem arithmetici et geometrici complures, quique ad has duas partes attinent. Nam musica et astrologia minus adhuc ab illo fuerant illustratae, non tamen omittendae ab eo, cui nihil difficile labor improbus [(quod illi symbolo seu tessera fuit)] faciebat aut relinquebat³⁷. Mathematicae disciplinae praeco extitit liber elegantissimus et doctissimus, cui titulum fecit Prooemium mathematicum; in quo quicquid eximium, quicquid praeclarum de laude, usu, [antiquitate et] praestantia artium mathematicarum dici potuit, id vero elegantissime, et cygnea quadam voce Ramus, fatum velut praesentiens, et mortem imminentem auguratus (sic enim cygni impendente morte canere dicuntur suavius) peroravit³⁸.

— *Rami bibliotheca et monumenta direpta; N. amisit libros e Graeco Latine a se conversos de mathesi; N. Graeca volumina describit, et convertit.*

Verum o grandem et nunquam recuperandam jacturam! tot libri, velut Sibyllae folia, nunc a multis et variis plagio subrepti, huc illuc ab iniquis dominis possessi, distracti dissipantur; tot compositiones artificiosae, tot specula mirifica, tot globi, tot αὐτόματα [tot comparata laboribus et sumptibus, tot annorum constructa spatiis, vix intra unius horae intervallum sublata et] (30) furtim exportata disperierunt. Et quis erit Aesculapius ille, qui divulsa disjectaque velut Absyrti membra in unum comportet, aptet, componat, ac reducat, ut corpus lacerum ac mutilum integret atque restituat? Perierunt mihi atque exciderunt in isto naufragio, multa laboris mei monimenta, et juvenilium studiorum primitiae. Nam cum Ramus noster artium quam linguae Graecae studiosior, quae a Graecis mathematicis Graece scripta forent, undique con-

³⁶ The translation presents certain problems here since the words do not appear in any of the dictionaries with meanings which are entirely applicable. Literally "bronze obelisks or daggers"; perhaps Nancel is using the words in some completely new sense, such as "bolts" and "screws" or "bars". The words are synonymous.

³⁷ A reference to Virgil, *Georgica*, I, 145-6: "tum variae venere artes: labor omnia vincit: improbus, et duris urgens in rebus egestas".

³⁸ Ramus, *Prooemium mathematicum*, 1567, (Ong, 603).

also the way in which he brought light to the most difficult parts of Archimedes, and the numbering of the grains of sand, his discovery of the squaring of the circle, solving the enigma of the duplication of the cube, and clearing up the obscurity of all mathematical puzzles. Witness all the demonstrations, not only manuscript and reduced to written form, but also skilfully made models, fashioned with cut-out charts, and by iron rods or plates, and bronze obelisks or daggers, in a large variety of forms. Witness his large Pythagorean solids, and machines which he kept carefully at home in display-cabinets. Witness also the countless kinds of optical instruments and mirrors, exhibited under glass, agreeable to look at, and giving pleasure when you understand how they work. Witness finally the books he wrote about each of the four parts of mathematics, but especially many books on arithmetic and geometry and related subjects. He contributed less in music and astronomy, though he was not the sort of person to omit them : his device or motto ensured that nothing was difficult or insurmountable. The herald of his mathematical work is that beautifully written and scholarly book which he called the *Introduction to Mathematics*, in which Ramus included every outstanding and notable point which could be made in praise of mathematics, and about its uses, its ancient origins and its preeminence, in this most elegant peroration of his, a swan-song as it were, as though he had foreseen his fate, and was foretelling his coming death (for swans are supposed to sing more sweetly when their death is near).

— *Ramus's library and records plundered; Nancel lost books on mathematics which he had translated from Greek into Latin; Nancel copies out and translates Greek manuscripts.*

But oh, what a great and irreparable loss! So many books, like the Sibyl's leaves, stolen by many different people, and now in the possession of wrongful owners, scattered here and there, and spread about. So many clever inventions, so many marvellous mirrors, so many globes and machines, prepared so laboriously over so many years and at such great cost, pillaged, removed and now lost for ever, within the space of scarcely one hour. Where is there an Aesculapius who can bring back together and recompose in harmony the scattered limbs of Absyrtus, healing and restoring this torn and mutilated body? I myself lost in that wreckage many monuments to my own labour, and the first fruits of my youthful studies. For Ramus, a better student of the arts than of Greek, hunted out everywhere all the Greek writings of the Greek

quireret, plurima volumina manu scripta, tineis et situ consumpta, tum e Vaticano Romano, tum e bibliotheca Fontis Bellaquei, tum aliunde mutua sibi missa exscribi curavit, mea cumprimis ad eam rem diurna nocturnaue usus opera, gravi interim oculorum meorum et visus dispendio, [et valetudinis incommodo] eaque in diversos codices redacta velut thesaurum pretiosum custodiebat. Ex illis praestantissimos quosque authores tum per Fridericum Reisnerum illum mihi dictum, tum per Joannem Paenam, tum per me Latinos fieri curavit. Quotquot autem vivo illo lucem non viderunt, hi quidem omnes et libri et authores expilati ac furto ablati disperierunt. Memini autem de nostris, et iis quos Latine converteram, hos extitisse : Pappum in totum Euclidem, densum volumen et grande, sed ἀκέφαλον; Theodosium, Autolycum, Aristarchum, Heronem, Proclum in sex primos Euclidis libros, et sane nonnullos alios, quorum ne meminisse nunc quidem possum, cum multum temporis intercesserit, // 7^r ⁽²¹⁾ ex quo nullum istorum vidi aut tenui; (31) quos utendos Ramo praeceptorum meo reliqueram et, ut mihi receperat ac promiserat, in Germaniam transmittendos, ut tum ex nostris, tum ex aliis unum corpus mathematicum conflaretur atque cuderetur, cum ea omnia Latine extarent nusquam, sed ne Graece quidem, praeter Proclum, caetera. Quo de plagio saepe et multis meis scriptis conqueror, ut omnes praemoneam nostra haec esse opera, quae indicavimus, siquis forte ignavus et inglorius alienos sibi immerenti labores vendicet. Sed ad Ramum revertor, qui quomodo se in privata, quomodo in publica professione gesserit, satis videor explicasse. Nunc autem de eodem dicam generatim, deque ejus scriptis quid sentiam, relicto tamen suo cuique libero iudicio [atque κριτηρίῳ].

— *N. de Ramo iudicium, et hujus eloquentiae laus*: ⁽²²⁾ *Rari oratores boni.*

Ramus linguae Latinae et scribendo et dicendo facile princeps suo saeculo fuit; nemoque (quod sciam) quingentis, imo millenis annis ante eum vixit pari facundia cum eo comparandus, qui de re qualibet scribere dicereque posset ex tempore, et ⁽²³⁾ quidem stylo orationis eo, quem nemo post Ciceronem, aut saltem post Quintilianum videtur assecutus. Erat in homine praeter elocutionis opes, etiam gestus et pronuntiationis gratia quaedam singularis, ut a natura compositus orator de industria

⁽²¹⁾ The ms here has 8 and not 7, the previous folio having had 6 and 7 together. Since the ms stops the foliation after f. 10 (i.e. 9) I propose to keep the correct foliation.

⁽²²⁾ ms adds heading "Ramus orator bonus".

⁽²³⁾ text *et*, ms *eo*.

mathematicians, and ordered the copying out of many mouldy, worm-eaten manuscript volumes, which had been sent to him on loan from the Vatican library in Rome and the library at Fontainebleau and from other sources; for this purpose he made use especially of my work, both by day and night, at the great expense of my eyesight and to the detriment of my health. He kept these manuscripts bound in several volumes as a precious treasure. He had the most outstanding authors among them translated into Latin by Frideric Reisner whom I have mentioned, by Jean Péna and finally by myself. All those books and authors, however, which did not see the light of day during his lifetime, have been pillaged and carried off by thieves and have disappeared. Among my own copies and Latin translations I recall the existence of Pappus's commentary on the whole of Euclid, a large thick volume, but lacking the beginning, Theodosius, Autolycus, Aristarchus, Hero, Proclus on the first six books of Euclid, and there were certainly many others which I cannot even remember now, since such a long time has elapsed since I have seen or held any of them. I left them for my teacher Ramus to use, and he gave me his word and promised me that they would be sent to Germany so that one *corpus mathematicum* should be established and printed from our texts and others, since there had never been a Latin edition of any of these, and, except for Proclus, not even a Greek edition. I keep complaining often and in many of my writings, about this theft, in order to warn people that the works we have mentioned are ours, in case it should happen that some idle, obscure person should wrongfully claim for himself the merit of other peoples' works. But to return to Ramus, it seems to me that I have adequately explained what he was like in his private and public teaching. Now I shall say in general what I think about him and his writings, leaving of course to everyone his own free judgement and opinion.

— *Nancel's opinion of Ramus and praise of his eloquence; the scarcity of good orators.*

Ramus was easily the first of his century for writing and speaking Latin, and there is nobody (as far as I know) for five hundred, even a thousand years before him, whose eloquence can be compared with his, since he was able to write and speak without preparation about any subject at all, and indeed in a rhetorical style which no-one seems to have equalled since Cicero or at least since Quintilian. Apart from the richness of his elocution he had an unusual gracefulness of gesture and pronun-

videretur. Haec Ramo praecipua laus fuit, magna tamen, quia multis saeculis, vel Tullio ipso iudice, rarus orator bonus nasci aut fieri consuevit (nasci enim poetas, oratores autem fieri volunt) ³⁹.

— (32) *De Rami cognitione literarum Graecarum, et scriptis Graecis; Ramus quos autores Graecos legerit.*

Literas Graecas sero attigit, quas plurimorum negotiorum, et scriptionum, et lectionum mole oppressus, potius degustavit, quam pernovit. Poetas Graecos, quod sciam, non attigit, quos ne Antonius ille quidem celeberrimus Romanorum orator sibi ignotos fuisse veretur profiteri ⁴⁰. Platonis epistolas tum ope lexici, tum opera ⁽²⁴⁾ submonitorum Latinas fecit ⁴¹; et aliquot Platonis dialogos publice legit, domi praemeditatos atque cum Baugerio ⁽²⁵⁾ aut alio submonitore excussos. Memini autem me puero solitum illum Graeca inspicere, dum Latina ex adverso recitarem, praecipue ex Platone et Aristotele; utrumque enim hunc authorem inter Graecos praecipue ⁽²⁶⁾ legit et evolvit, fereque solum, et utriusque comparisonem perquam lepidam ⁽²⁷⁾ collegit, Peripateticam doctrinam cum Academica concilians. Quod tamen opus perelegans, plagiaris aliquis vivo illi surripuit. Caeterum Graecorum authorum vix ullum alium legerat aut edidicerat, nisi forte paucas Demosthenis orationes. Sed cum opus esset, aut lexicon adhibebat, aut interprete quodam domestico et familiari utebatur.

— *Ramus orator bonus, malus poeta; sic Cicero malus poeta; rarissimus idem bonus orator et bonus poeta.*

Jam vero ut in eloquentia primas tenebat, sic in poesi mire novus erat minimumque versatus, ut per annos totos viginti et plures, [quibus fere cum illo egi,] ne totidem quidem carmina scriptitarit. Et quondam cum Praesidi Quelino gratulari vellet ob evictam litem, Hamelio praecptori puerorum scholae Praelleae alumnorum (bursarios vocant) hanc dedit provinciam, ut (33) veluti chorum novem musarum cum Apolline loquentium // 7^v et congratulantium induceret. Ipse cum epigramma conaretur de suo adjicere, ne tum quidem potuit, cum pedes modo plures, modo pauciores carmini appingeret [seu affingeret], neque satis constans

⁽²⁴⁾ ms *opera*, text *operi*.

⁽²⁵⁾ text *Baugerio*, ms *Bougerio*.

⁽²⁶⁾ ms has *hunc inter Graecos authorem praecipue*.

⁽²⁷⁾ ms and some copies of the text *lepidam*, others *lepidem*.

³⁹ Cicero, *Orator*, 1, 3, 11.

ciation : it was his application that made him seem a natural orator. This was Ramus's principal merit, and a great merit it is, since there are many centuries, in the opinion of Cicero, in which a good orator was rarely born or made (for they say that poets are born, and orators are made).

— *Ramus's knowledge of Greek language and literature; which Greek authors he read.*

He applied himself to Greek late, and dabbled in it rather than got to know it thoroughly, being weighed down by a mass of administration, writing and reading. To my knowledge he did not tackle the Greek poets at all, writers whom not even Antony, the great Roman orator, was ashamed to admit were unknown to him. He translated Plato's letters into Latin with the help of a dictionary and the assistance of prompters, and he gave public lectures on some dialogues of Plato which he had prepared at home and published with Baugier or some other prompter. I remember that when I was a boy he used to look at the Greek text, while I read out the Latin text opposite, especially of Plato and Aristotle. These two were the Greek authors he read and commented on most, and there were scarcely any others, and he prepared a fine comparison between them, reconciling Peripatetic with Academic teaching. However, some plagiarist purloined this very elegant work during his lifetime. Apart from this he scarcely ever read or studied any other Greek author, except perhaps a few speeches of Demosthenes, but when the need arose he either used a dictionary, or relied on some domestic translator from his own house.

— *Ramus was a good orator and a bad poet, as Cicero was a bad poet; it is rare for anyone to be both a good orator and a good poet.*

Now just as he excelled in eloquence, so he was very much a novice in poetry and little versed in it, to such an extent that for the whole of the twenty years or more when I had dealings with him, he did not even compose twenty poems. Once when he wanted to congratulate the President Quelin, on a successful law-suit, he gave the task to Hamel who was the tutor to the bursary scholars of the Collège de Presles, to present a chorus of the nine Muses and Apollo, speaking and congratulating; when Ramus attempted to add an epigram of his own, he could not

⁴⁰ Ibid., *De oratore*, I, 13-22.

⁴¹ *Platonis epistolae a Petro Ramo latinae factae*, 1549, (Ong, 188).

illi foret quantitatis syllabariae ratio. Atque hoc cum Cicerone habuit commune, ut bonus orator, malus esset poeta : et quidem

Tanto pessimus omnium poeta,

Quanto et optimus omnium patronus,

ut fere Catullus scripsit ⁴². Sic autem Martialis in Tullium jocatus est :

Quod versus scribis musis et Apolline nullo,

Laudari debes, hoc Ciceronis habes ⁴³.

Ita difficile est in utroque genere unum excellere hominem; rarusque ab omni aevo bonus fuit orator, idemque bonus poeta. Scio tamen me vidisse versus complusculos ab eodem Ramo adhuc juvene scriptos, neque illos invita Minerva. Sed consequentium studiorum ratio diversa istum poetices igniculum facile sopiit atque restinxit.

— *Ramus quantus theologus; Ramus quantus medicus; Ramus quantus jurisconsultus.*

Theologiam per annos prope triginta ne attigit quidem, cum forte jam olim in suspicionem de religione Lutherana incidisset, metueretque [observantium] adversariorum [insidias et] dolos delationemque. Atque in tota ejus bibliotheca longe [instructissima] amplissima[que], ne bibliis quidem sacris locus fuit, praeter unicum novum Castalione interprete testamentum et Breviarium (34) Romanum, in quo quotidie dum sacris et missae interesset, legebat pauca quaedam, cum codicillis, quos circumferebat, etiam inter sacra audienda semper aliquid interim meditatum ex tempore adscriberet, [et stylo induceret appingeretque].

E medicis unum fere Galenum legerat, neque eum totum, sed praecipue libros de methodo medendi, ut inde ad suum institutum Logicum et ad methodi decantatissimae leges etiam Galeno diversa quaedam exciperet, quem et obiter in eo argumento reprehendit, [velut in methodis ἀμέθοδον].

Legum volumina ne habebat ipse quidem; neque ei studio, quod sciam, operam unquam dedit, nisi forte ex occasione, cum inter legendos Ciceronis orationes aliquid occurreret a Jureconsultis repetendum. Quod quidam ⁽²⁸⁾ docti Ciceronis orationum interpretes, ut Hottomanus *Juris Consultus* et Muretus, ipsi vitio verterunt, quod totus in tropis et

(²⁸) text *quidam*, ms *quidem*.

⁴² Catullus, *Carmina*, 49. The only change Nancel makes in the text is to substitute "tu" for "et".

⁴³ Martial, *Epigrammata*, 2, 89.

manage it, composing now too many feet, now too few for the poem, and he could not keep his syllabic count consistent. In this he was like Cicero, a good orator and a bad poet; and even

“was the worst poet of all, just as he was
the best advocate of all”,

to change Catullus’s words a little. Similarly Martial joked about Cicero :

“The fact that you write verses without the help of
Apollo and the Muses is cause for praise — in this you
take after Cicero”.

It is in fact difficult for one man to excel in both, and it has always been rare to find the same man being a good orator and a good poet. I do remember seeing a good many poems written by Ramus as a young man, and they were not devoid of inspiration. But the different cast of his subsequent studies soon destroyed that little spark of poetry and extinguished it.

— *Ramus as a theologian, doctor and lawyer.*

For nearly thirty years he did not even touch theology, for he had once happened to be suspected of favouring the Lutheran religion, and he was afraid of the wily tricks of watchful opponents, and the danger of being reported. In the whole of his copious and well-furnished library there was not even a place for the Holy Bible, apart from one New Testament in Castellio’s translation, and a Roman Breviary, from which he used to read a little while he was present at mass and the ceremonies, and even during the service he used to jot down his passing meditations with a pen in a notebook which he carried round with him.

Of the medical writers he read almost nothing but Galen, and not all of him but especially the books on the method of healing, so that he could select some passages from Galen also, to use in his teaching of logic, and for the laws of his much celebrated method, though he sometimes found fault with him here, as someone who was without method in the study of method.

He did not even possess any law books, nor, as far as I know, did he ever give any attention to the subject, except perhaps as the occasion arose when he was reading Cicero’s speeches and something turned up which called for recourse to the lawyers. Some learned commentators on the speeches of Cicero, such as the jurisconsult Hottoman and Muret, reproached him with the fact that his commentary was entirely concerned with the listing of tropes and figures, or so they said, and that

figuris numerandis (uti aiebant) commentando occuparetur, legum et juris explicationem in orationibus Ciceronianis passim obviam et maxime necessariam neglectim praetermitteret. Sic de tribus sublimibus istis artibus, Theologia (cui tandem sese totum tradidit), Medicina, Jurisprudentia, Ramus parce admodum modiceque gustaverat; poeticam non attigerat, una sua eloquentia et philosophia contentus; utriusque enim se professorem novissimis annis inscribebat. Et sane quod (35) ad priorem attinet, suo plane merito, omnium sui saeculi, ut saepe dicimus, longe disertissimus erat et facundissimus orator.

— *Ramus quantus philosophus; Ramus optimus Dialecticus, et optimus Rhetor; laus Dialecticae Rami; Ramus quantus Ethicus et quantus Physicus.*

E philosophia tamen, eam praecipue partem excoluit, quae est de disserendo, quia Dialecticam consummare atque absolvere omni studio contendit, et in ea per annos plus minus triginta, perfecte explicanda tradendaque versatus est. Neque est, meo iudicio, spe aut expectatione sua frustratus: quia ex omnibus, quae bene multae extant Logicae artis descriptiones, nulla est quae cum hujus Dialectica videatur jure comparanda, tum verborum elegantia, tum methodi accuratione, tum praeceptorum facilitate, tum exemplorum splendore // 8^r [et usu ipso consummata]. Quam ideo jam ante dixi vicies (ni fallor) novis typis excusam atque divenditam. Caeteras duas philosophiae partes, tum eam quae est de moribus, tum quae est de rebus occultis et naturae arcanis (illam Ethicen, hanc Physicen appellant) minus accurate persecutus est; quamquam de utraque aliquid commentatus [(et de Politicis ab eo sene scriptis inaudii)] sed magis non ut nescivisse, quam ut absolute excoluisse ac pernovisse cognoscas. ⁽²⁹⁾

— *Rami laudis summa capita et quid reipubl. literariae contulerit* ⁽³⁰⁾.

In eo tamen summis laudibus Ramus est celebrandus, quod eloquentiam cum philosophia conjungendi rationem primus nostro aevo et invenit, et reipsa tum scriptis, tum dictis docuit et comprobavit. Et quod usum artium omnium, in primisque Logices, e (36) bonis autoribus petendum saepe ad ravim inclamavit.

⁽²⁹⁾ text *cognoscas*, ms *agnoscas*.

⁽³⁰⁾ text *contulerit*, ms *praecipue contulerit*.

he negligently left aside the vitally important explanation of the laws and of the law which was in such great evidence in Cicero.

Ramus therefore tasted very sparingly of these three most sublime arts, theology (to which in the end he devoted himself entirely), medicine, and jurisprudence; he did not touch the art of poetry, satisfied with his study of eloquence and philosophy, in later years styling himself professor of both of these. Certainly as far as the former is concerned, because of his own merit, he was, as we have often said, the most eloquent and fluent orator of all the men of this time.

— *Ramus as a philosopher : he was an outstanding logician and rhetorician; praise of Ramus's "Dialectic"; Ramus as a moralist and natural philosopher.*

In philosophy, on the other hand, he cultivated above all the part which deals with discourse, striving as energetically as possible to finish and perfect his *Dialectic*, and being engaged on a full explanation and presentation of it for more or less thirty years. In my view his hopes and expectations were not frustrated, for of all the many existing accounts of the art of logic, there does not seem to be any which can favourably be compared to his *Dialectic*, either for the verbal elegance, the accuracy of the method, the simplicity of the precepts, the brilliant examples or the practical application of it. I have already said, if I am not mistaken, that it was republished twenty times, and always sold out. He gave less detailed attention to the two remaining parts of philosophy, the one concerning morals and the one concerning occult things and the secrets of nature (that is, ethics and physics) though he did make some comments on each of them (and I have heard of a book on politics which he wrote as an old man), but so that you would rather conclude that he was not totally ignorant of them, than that he cultivated them fully and was familiar with them.

— *The principal achievements of Ramus and his contribution to the Republic of Letters.*

However, Ramus is to be given the greatest praise for the fact that he was the first person in modern times to discover the principle of uniting eloquence with philosophy, and teach it and prove its value in his writings and teachings, and that he cried out again and again until he was hoarse that the true practice of all arts, and especially the art of logic, should be looked for in reputable authors.

— [*Ramus usuarius*;] *Ramus de opera* ⁽³¹⁾ *accusatus*; *Rami epinicia de adversariis*.

Unde et usuarius honorifico titulo ab adversariis dictus est ⁴⁴, quem probro notare cogitabant, et quod artium omnium liberalium fines ad humanae vitae fructum referendos esse demonstravit; licet freudentibus interim adversariis, et ob praeclarum facinus hominem in iudicium vocantibus, simul et ob id accusantibus, quod poetas et oratores in scholas invexisset, atque ab iis praeter bene loquendi fructum, tum philosophiae totius, tum praecipue Ethices, tum Rhetorices, tum Logices usum certissimum erui posse contenderet. Proh Deum immortalem! quanta saeculi caecitas fuit, quanta barbaries, quanta hominum ignorantia (nequid gravius dicam) eos damnare, eos aversari arcereque, per quos Academiae laus potissimum efflorescit; per quos juvenus plurimum proficit, queis sine, nihil nisi mera barbaries in scholis regnet atque vigeat, sicuti patrum nostrorum aetas et avorum absurda et praepostera atque ignobilis doctrina demonstravit. Extant etiamnum elegantissimae Rami de hac concertatione et victoria orationes pro philosophica libertate, et de eloquentiae philosophiaeque conjunctione, et de poetarum atque oratorum scriptis publice interpretandis. Accedit ad laudes Rami etiam illa non parva, quam proposui : quod primus ac praecipuus author fuerit, ut in gymnasiis simul Graeca cum Latinis explicando jungerentur, cum (37) ante hunc, solam Latinam linguam utcumque rudi Minerva gymnasia amplecterentur, Graecam ab regiis professoribus rari et jam adulti peterent. Sed quanto in hunc campum laudis sumus ingressi, de laudabili Rami institutione scholastica, et docendi scribendique excogitata mirifica ratione, quas ille potissimum artes excoluerit ac perpolierit, subjicio.

— *Ramus omnes artes instaurat et dirigit.*

Ramus novo pene exemplo, velut alter Hercules Augiae stabulum, sic artium omnium barbariem excutere ac profugare [profligareque] instituit, universamque *κυκλοπαίδειαν* unus perlustrare atque exornare. Quod ut praestaret sedulo, ab ipsis fundamentis, velut magni et illustris domicilii exaedificationem est aggressus.

(31) text *opera*, ms *bona opera*.

⁴⁴ I follow Ong here in translating "usuarius" by "usufructuary" and not by "usurer"; see also Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, pp. 321-2.

— *Ramus the usufructuary; accusations about his work; his song of victory over his opponents.*

For this reason he was given the honorific title of "usufructuary" by his opponents, who wanted to brand him with infamy, because he showed that all the liberal arts were to be directed to the benefit of human life. His opponents meanwhile objected violently, and brought him to judgement for this heinous crime; they accused him at the same time of introducing poets and orators into the schools, and of claiming that you could derive from them the benefit not only of speaking well, but the sure practice of the whole of philosophy, especially ethics, rhetoric and logic. By the immortal gods! How blind was that age; how barbaric and ignorant men were (not to say anything worse) to condemn, shun and reject the men who were the cause of the University's flourishing success, and because of whom young people made the greatest progress, without whom nothing but barbarism reigns and grows strong in the schools, as the age of our fathers and the senseless, outlandish and worthless doctrine of our grandfathers proved. There are in print some very elegant speeches of Ramus about this dispute and his victory; in defence of philosophical freedom, on the union of eloquence and philosophy, and about the public explanation of the writings of poets and orators. Not the least of Ramus's merits, as I have mentioned, was that he was the first and principal person to ensure that Greek and Latin were taught comparatively together in the colleges, since before him the colleges taught only Latin and rather barbarously at that, and only a few rather advanced scholars went to the Royal Professors to study Greek. But since we have entered on this field of praise, I submit to you an account of Ramus's excellent classroom-method, and the wonderful way of teaching and writing which he devised, arts which he cultivated especially and brought to perfection.

— *Ramus restores and arranges all the arts.*

Like another Hercules cleaning the Augean stables, Ramus set about shaking off, dissipating and putting to flight the barbarous condition of all the arts with a method which was completely new, and examining thoroughly on his own and setting out beautifully the whole encyclopedia. In order to perform this with diligence he started from the very foundations as though he were going to build up a great and splendid house.

— *Initium a Grammatica in triplici idiomate; N. adminiculatur, et inchoat; Grammatica Graeca Rami minus elaborata; Rami scholae in omnes artes.*

Primum igitur cum Grammaticam rudem cerneret et horridam incultamque, huic nitorem praecipuum quaesivit, et methodum facilem invenit; triplici idiomate Gallico, Latino, Graeco, Grammaticum argumentum pertractavit ⁴⁵. Huic ego aedificationi plurimum videor opus attulisse et adjumenti, cum ipso architecto omnem conferens operam, omnemque industriam, quo perfectius opus evaderet. Cujus negotii ille mihi adhuc juveni provinciam primo dederat; sed rei expertus difficultatem, peritiore architecto sensi opus esse, vixque ab uno rem tam vastam tamque confusam decenter constitui ⁽³²⁾ posse indicavi. Ideo Ramus ducto penicillo primos et genuinos colores et (38) formam primigeniam methodumque operis delineavit; ego cum eodem materiam undique conquisitam et comportatam suis locis aggressi ⁽³³⁾, collatis permultis Grammaticis undique venatus ⁽³⁴⁾ quod ad artis complementum attinet, multa et saepe cum ipso Ramo discutiens, // 8^v quo possent omnia commodè construi componique. Denique singula mea manu descripsi, typis commissa correxi, et ut nunc leguntur, Ramo duce atque authore, populo exhibui. Fateor tamen ultimam manum Grammaticae Graecae non esse additam, sed de Gallica et Latina quid melius dici aut praecipi possit, non video ⁽³⁵⁾. Mirum vero in modum placent, quae Ramus extra artem velut per scholas disquirat, praesertim ad Gallicam et Latinam Grammaticam, quia totius antiquitatis mihi videtur ille arcana rimatus ac perscrutatus, cunctas velut opes et gazas Grammaticorum unus eo contulisse.

— *N. professor regius in Duacensi Academia.*

Ac memini cum primum Duaco essem reversus, ubi regia professione [circa annum 1562 et 64] sub Philippo Hispaniarum Rege stipendia merueram, bonum illum virum ad me ventitare obvium, aut ad se evocare [solitum], ut quae in id argumentum excogitasset scripsissetve, mihi communicaret; quid contra posset [objici], quid amplius adjici, quid melius dici, in eoque argumenti genere multum sibi placere.

⁽³²⁾ text *constitui*, ms *institui*.

⁽³³⁾ text *aggressi*, ms *aggressi*.

⁽³⁴⁾ ms *venatis*, text *venatus*.

⁽³⁵⁾ ms *video*, text *videor*.

— *He starts from grammar in three languages; Nancel helps and begins the work; Ramus's Greek grammar was not well worked out; Ramus's annotations on all these arts.*

In the first place he perceived that grammar was rude and unpolished, he tried to give it a special elegance, and found an easy method for it, dealing thoroughly with the grammar of three languages, French, Latin and Greek. I feel that I myself made a great contribution to this work of building by my collaboration and support, discussing the whole project with the architect himself, in order to produce a more perfect result. He had already entrusted this aspect of the work to me when I was a young man, but when I realized how difficult the subject was, I felt the need of a better qualified architect, and that such a vast and complex matter could scarcely be undertaken properly by one man. Therefore Ramus took his brush and sketched in the first natural colours and the primitive structure and method of the work, and I helped him to arrange in its proper place material gathered together from various sources; I compared a large number of grammarians, and hunted out all over the place whatever would help to make a complete survey of the art, often discussing with Ramus himself how best to arrange and present everything. Finally I wrote it all out myself, corrected the proofs, and under the leadership and authorship of Ramus offered it to the public in its present form. I acknowledge, however, that the last touches were not made to the Greek grammar, but I do not see what could be improved or taught better in the French and Latin grammars. The critical comments which Ramus made outside the arts, in his glosses, especially in the French and Latin grammars, are wonderfully pleasing: he seems to me to have scrutinized and examined all the secrets of the ancient world, and to be the only man who has brought together into his work all the riches as it were and treasures of the grammarians.

— *Nancel as Royal Professor in the University of Douai.*

I remember when I first returned from Douai where I earned my salary as a Royal Professor from 1562 to 1564 under King Philip of Spain, the good man used to come to see me, or ask me to go to see him, in order to try out on me his ideas on the subject whether written down or not, and mentioning possible objections, additions and improvements. I remember that the subject was very much to his liking.

⁴⁵ Ramus, *Grammatica Latina*, 1559, (Ong, 513); *Grammatica Graeca*, 1560, (Ong, 566); *Gramere*, 1562, (Ong, 582).

— *Rami duo summae laudis capita in Grammaticis* : (i) *pronuntiatio exacta*; (ii) *de inventis duabus literis "j" et "v"*.

In quo duo mihi videntur summe praedicanda et dilaudanda : Unum, quod priscum pronuntiandi morem Latinorum (39) Graecorumque mire hactenus perversum restituit, tum scriptis ab omni antiquitate erutum, tum ipse suo exemplo suorumque, publice docendo legendoque (licet rei novitatem insolentiamque ridentibus lividis atque ignaris) invulgatum, et usu frequenti tritum probatumque. Alterum, quod cum Latina una et eadem litera geminum, eumque diversissimum sonum ederent, modum excogitavit, nobis et aliis in consilium adhibitis, quo et sonus distingueretur, et litera diverso nomine et caractere variaretur; inventum, ita me Deus bene amet, Mercurio, aut Palamede, aut Simo- nide, aut Cadmo, aut Evandro, aut Nicostrata, aut priscis illis literarum inventoribus dignum. [Quo exemplo, Cl. Caesar tres literas adjecit Latinis, quae usui imperante eo fuerunt, post oblitteratae, ait Tacitus libro II et Suetonius in ejus vita.] ⁴⁶ Prius vocavit Jod, posterius Vaf, nomen utrumque mutuatus [Ramus noster] ab Hebraeis, apud quos hae literae sunt saepe consonantes; ut semper apud Latinos pro consonis haberi voluit, easque me monitore sic depinxit, j et v, [ad discrimen vocalium : nempe ut j consonans caudam haberet prominentem, i vocalis non haberet : v consonum infima parte clusum et acutum, in angulum acutum desineret, u vocale duobus constaret apicibus rectis aut ima parte junctis; utraque forma recepta, sed usu indiscriminatim habito]. Est enim longe maximum discrimen i vocalis ab j consonantem; et u vocalis (40) ab v consonante; ut vides cum dico, jejunos et dii, aut vivo ⁽³⁶⁾ et arduus. Atque haec de prima artium reliquarum Grammatica.

— 2. *Rhetorice*; ⁽³⁷⁾ *Talaei laus*.

Proxima Rhetorice pridem ab Audomaro Talaeo Rami collega et populari cive, et fratre adoptivo ascititioque, in vulgus edita fuerat : ⁴⁷ quam bonus ille vir et perquam disertus, publice legerat, et multis authorum exemplis illustrarat, et ⁽³⁸⁾ quandiu per valetudinem profiteri potuit, [doctissimis] lectionibus oratorum et poetarum exercuerat atque

⁽³⁶⁾ ms *vivo*, text *viro*.

⁽³⁷⁾ ms inserts (2) *Rhetorice*.

⁽³⁸⁾ ms *et*, text *id*.

⁴⁶ Tacitus, *Annales*, II, 14, 6; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 5, 41, 6.

⁴⁷ Omer Talon, *Rhetorica*, 1548, (Ong, 58).

— *The two most praiseworthy items in Ramus's grammar : (i) correct pronunciation; (ii) the invention of the two letters "j" and "v"*

I think that there are two points in which he deserves the highest praise. Firstly, that he restored the original pronunciation of Latin and Greek, until then strangely confused, taking it from all the ancient writers, and by his own example and that of his followers in public teaching and lecturing, he popularized it and made it common and accepted by frequent use, even though malicious and ignorant people laughed at the novelty and unusualness of it. Secondly, since the Latins represented two very different sounds by one and the same letter, he devised a way, after asking our advice and that of others, of distinguishing the sounds and giving the letters different names and characters. It was an invention, so help me God, worthy of Mercury, Palamedes, Simonides, Cadmus, Evandrus, or Nicostrata, or the first inventors of the letters. Following this example, Claudius added three letters to the Latin alphabet which were used during his reign, and afterwards forgotten about as Tacitus says in Book Eleven and Suetonius in his life of him. Ramus called the former "Jod" and the latter "Vaf", borrowing both names from the Hebrews, among whom these letters are often consonants, since he wanted them always to be considered consonants by the Latins, and on my suggestion he wrote them like this "j" and "v" to distinguish them from the vowels; that is that the consonant "j" should have a projecting tail, the vowel "i" should not; the consonant "v" should have the lower part closed and sharp and end in a point, and the vowel "u" should consist of two straight lines joined at the bottom; both of these forms existed already, but were used without discrimination. For there is in fact a very great difference between the vowel "i" and the consonant "j", and between the vowel "u" and the consonant "v", as you can see when I say "jejunus" and "dii", or "vivo" and "arduus". This will suffice for grammar, the first among the other arts.

— *2. Rhetoric; Praise of Talon.*

The next art, that of rhetoric, was first published by Omer Talon, Ramus's colleague and fellow-countryman, and his adopted or rather co-opted brother; that good and most eloquent man lectured on it publicly, embellishing it with many illustrations from classical authors, and, as long as his health allowed him to teach, he practised and cultivated it with scholarly quotations from the orators and poets. But he contracted an incurable disease (his opponents claimed that it was

excoluerat. Sed morbo incurabili contracto (luem veneream objiciebant adversarii) cum ille "Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare loquendo" resonaret, ut Persius ait⁴⁸, mutato priori vitae instituto, sacris sese addixit, et sacerdos factus, Paroecus Lutetiae ad D. Nicolai a Cardineto (³⁹),⁴⁹ aliquandiu supervixit, magno et prope incredibili damno rei literariae Academiaeque Parisiensis, tum morbo pessimo correptus, tum fato immaturo defunctus, homo perquam facetus, facilis, comis, urbanus, benevolus, et sane perdoctus, planeque ad docendum compositus et effectus : quo nemo elegantius, nemo magis diserte (si a Ramo disces-seris) Lutetiae docuit aut locutus est scripsitve eo tempore, sicuti aliquot ejus scripta tersissima elegantissimaque testantur et ego, ejus per annos complures auditor, cum innumera discipulorum ejus cohorte possum testari.

— *Ramus Rhetorice Talaei sibi vindicat, quo jure : N. conjectura.*

Hoc igitur Talaeo vita functo, cum Ramus artium instaurationem moliretur, (41) Rhetorice illam eandem sub Talaei nomine divulgatam haud scio quo jure, sibi arrogavit, // 9^r et interpolatam in vulgus edidit, quasi a se primum inventam descriptamque, et a Talaeo commentariis illustratam⁵⁰, sicuti pridem de Dialectica factum constat, cujus verus author Ramus est, Talaeus commentator. Volui aliquando hujus facti causam a Ramo scitando discere; sed cum vererem hominem gravem et iracundum irritare, malui ita apud me statuere : Communia olim fuisse Ramo cum Talaeo studia; et Ramum illi aperuisse modum methodumque indicasse Rhetorice in artem redigendae. Et quia plus contulisse Talaeus videbatur, suoque quodam stylo artem illam exornasse (qui Ramistico longe familiarior est et facilius et popularis magis, elegans tamen), ideo illi gloriam solidam inventionis vivo concessisse, quam a mortuo [velut usuram] repoposcit, ut cujus operis dictator atque dux extiterat, ejusdem nunc vere primarius author haberetur.

— *Vindicatur Ramus a plagii suspitione; historia; Adr. Turnebi laus; Ramus respondet invectivae Turnebi per Talaeum; mira celeritas responsionis; Rami novum factum.*

Haec mea conjectura si vera non est, nescio quid queas excogitare,

(³⁹) text *Cardueto*, ms *Cardieto* or perhaps *Cardioto*.

⁴⁸ Persius, *Satyrae*, 1, 33.

⁴⁹ The "correct" Latin form of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet seems to be "S. Nicolaus in Cardineto", see Du Cange *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*.

⁵⁰ *A. Talaei Rhetorica, P. Rami praelectionibus illustrata*, 1567, (Ong, 78).

syphilis) and he used to utter "disgusting things speaking through his nose" as Persius says; he changed the previous orientation of his life, and turned to the observance of religion; he was ordained and became parish priest of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet in Paris, and lived for some time afterwards. The world of letters and the University of Paris suffered a great, almost unbelievable loss both by the serious illness and the untimely death of this witty, good-natured, cultured, courteous and kindly man, who was also erudite and clearly made for teaching, and well-suited to it; he was without his match in the Paris of his day for eloquent teaching, speaking or writing, with the exception of course of Ramus. Some of his neat and elegant writings testify to this, and I can confirm it, since I was his listener for many years, as can an innumerable band of his students.

— *Ramus appropriates Talon's 'Rhetoric': Nancel's guess about the justification for this.*

After Talon's death, when Ramus was engaged on the building up of his edifice of the arts, he appropriated to himself, with what right I do not know, the *Rhetoric* which had been published in Talon's name; he published it in an altered form as though it had been first invented and described by himself, and merely adorned with Talon's commentaries, as was in fact originally the case with the *Dialectic*, of which Ramus is the true author and Talon the commentator. I once wanted to find out the reason for this by asking Ramus, but I was afraid of annoying such a serious and irascible man, and preferred to judge for myself as follows : at one time Ramus and Talon worked closely together on the same subjects, and Ramus showed him the way and indicated the method of reducing rhetoric to an art. Because Talon seemed to have contributed more to the art, and to have enhanced it with his own style (which is much more familiar, more easy-going and more popular than Ramus's, yet without sacrificing elegance), he allowed him during his life-time the full credit for inventing it, and reclaimed it from him like usury once he was dead, so that he himself would then be accepted as the true primary author of a work which he merely originated and inspired.

— *Ramus is vindicated from the suspicion of plagiarism; a story about this; praise of Adrien Turnèbe; Ramus replies through Talon to Turnèbe's attack; the remarkable speed of the reply; Ramus's unusual behaviour.*

If this surmise of mine is not correct, I do not know what one is to

cum certum sciam P. Ramo satis solidae laudis proprio Marte quaesitum, nec unquam plagio alterius inventum sibi arrogasse aut vendicasse. Imo et hoc adjiciam mihi compertissimum : cum Adrianus Turnebus orationem invectivam et plane injuriam in Ramum edidisset levi de caussa irritatus ⁵¹, Ramus, qui nullis unquam adversariorum scriptis et calumniis responderat, sed (42) philosophica constantia quamlibet acerbis injurias tacitus dissimulando pertulerat, nactus adversarium [velut Entellus Daretem] ⁵², ut putabat, sua responsione dignum (fuit enim Turnebus suo aevo professorum regionum in Graecis literis facile primus, atque in multiplici disciplinarum genere felicissime versatus) ac velut antagonistam, quo cum luctari gloriosum judicaret, per totum biduum triduumve perdius ac pernox Turnebo respondit, suaeque manu et ingenio responsionem argutam salsamque brevissimo temporis spatio scripsit composuitque, quam ego (⁴⁰) pari celeritate percurri, adpuxi ⁵³, descripsi, et typis mandavi, apud Wechelum pernoctans, quo die nocteque opus urgerem. Quod praeter omnium spem et expectationem tam cito prodiit in lucem, nondum ut inchoari, aut inchoatum, necdum longius provehi potuisse quisquam existimaret. Hoc autem opus concitatissimum, ne a pertinaci sua constantia descivisse Ramus videretur, sub Talaei nomine divulgavit, eique laudem arguti scripti omnem contulit, cujus ille ne paginam quidem (nisi quod sales quosdam atque jocos admiscuerat, ut erat verus *εἰρων*) integram conscripserat (⁴¹). Et hoc solus ego nunc superstitem conscius assevero : tres enim soli hujus rei fueramus conscii. Mihi ut mirari saepe subierit, quamobrem Ramus sodali bene de se merito tam praeclari operis laudem, jam ab omnibus et deferri jure solitam, praeriperit.

— (43) 3. *Dialectia, deinceps et aliae artes; Ramus artium instaurator; Rami mos in artibus instituendis; Rami opera; Ramus quos praeceptores secutus sit in interpretando, et artificio rhetorico logicoque.*

Sed tamen ut ille institutam *τεχνολογίαν* (⁴²) a fundamentis ad fastigium et colophonem perduceret, post Grammaticen editam, Rhetoricen

(⁴⁰) text *ego*, ms *eo*.

(⁴¹) text *conscripserat*, ms *inscripserat*.

(⁴²) text *τεχνολογίαν*, ms *τεχνολογίας*.

⁵¹ *Audomari Talaei Admonitio ad Adrianum Turnebum*, 1556, (Ong, 484). See Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, pp. 289-94 for an account of the controversy.

⁵² Virgil, *Aeneis*, 5, 362-485.

think, since I know for certain that Ramus earned enough glory by his own exertions, and never appropriated to himself by theft the original work of anyone else. Furthermore I will add something which I know for a fact, that when Adrien Turnèbe, annoyed for some trivial reason, published his abusive and unjust attack against Ramus, Ramus himself, who had never replied to the malicious writings of his opponents, but had quietly ignored all insults, however bitter, and acted with philosophic self-possession, had now met with an opponent whom he considered worthy of a reply, as Entellus did with Dares. Turnèbe was in fact easily the best among the Royal Professors of Greek in his century, and well-versed and successful in all kinds of subjects, and he was an antagonist with whom he thought it would be glorious to fight. He wrote his reply to Turnèbe in the space of two or three days, writing day and night; he composed and wrote out himself an original, penetrating, subtle and witty reply in this short space of time. With equal speed I read it over, punctuated it, copied it out, and delivered it to the printer, spending the night at Wechel's, in order to speed on the work by day and by night. It came out more quickly than anyone could have hoped or expected, at a time when everyone imagined it had not been started, or if it had been started that it could not have made much progress. Now Ramus published this rapidly produced work under Talon's name, so as not to appear to be departing from his steadfast forbearance, and allowed him all credit for this penetrating piece of writing, even though he did not write one single page of it (except to insert a few witticisms and jokes, for his was a truly ironic temperament); I am aware as I declare this that I am the sole survivor, for there were only three of us who were party to this matter. I often wonder therefore why Ramus should have snatched away the credit of this distinguished work from such a deserving colleague, which everyone rightly gave to him anyway.

- 3. *The "Dialectic" is followed by the other arts; Ramus, restorer of the arts; his manner of teaching the arts; the work of Ramus; the teachers he says he is following in his interpretation, and in his rhetorical and logical artifices.*

However, in order to carry to completion the building of that 'technology' of which he had laid the foundations, after publishing his

⁵³ The printed text has *adpunxi* and the manuscript *ad(j)unxi*; if we were to read *Adjunxi* the meaning would be "assembled". *Adpunxi* ("punctuated") seems better, though it is not (yet) attested anywhere.

subiunctam, Logicen additam, deinceps Physicas et Metaphysicas scholas adiunxit, quae integrae artis locum supplerent⁵⁴. Postmodum ad mathematicas artes deflexit, quas ita tractavit, uti diximus; ut Ramus vere [(quo nomine Tullius Varronem honorat ac decorat)] artium liberalium magister, ut erat, dici nunc possit, qui septem artes liberales ita instituit, informavit, perpolivit. Quas quidem ita tractari a se asserebat, ut alteram partem ἐλεγκτικὴν, reprehensoriam vocaret, alteram autem ἀποδεικτικὴν, demonstrativam, Aristotelis ut morem, sic et verba imitatus. Illius generis sunt Brutinae quaestiones, Animadversiones in Aristotelem, Scholae Grammaticae, Rhetoricae, Logicae, Physicae, Metaphysicae, et quaedam Mathematicae⁵⁵; quibus quid in quaque arte improbaret, quid in primariis artium authoribus culparet, diserte et oratorio more declaravit. //9^v Hujus autem posterioris generis, [apodictici,] sunt omnes artes, quas informavit atque instituit, vel etiam restituit. Sunt autem praeterea commentationes illae, quas nominavi in Ciceronis orationes aliquot, et in Virgilii Bucolica atque Georgica; in quibus interpretandis, mihi aliquando fassus est se Latomum et Sturmium et Fabrum sequi, ab initio sibi propositos bonos et methodicos interpretes. Extant (44) ejusdem orationes multae longe elegantissimae, item Ciceronianus facundissimus; atque ut hic humaniorum literarum praeco eximius, sic alter matheseos vel illo etiam illustrior splendidiorque, cui Prooemio mathematico titulus est. Extat etiam commentarius in librum Ciceronis de fato, in Somnium Scipionis, in librum I. de Legibus⁵⁶. Quos tres postremos commentarios in illo juvenili ardore edidit, omnino disertos et facundos et bonarum disciplinarum foecundos.

— *N. iudicium de commentariis Rami; Rami epist. familiares; N. opera Rami exscribit, et publicat; N. in Praelleo.*

Ut si me interroges de primis et ultimis Rami commentariis quid sentiam, statim respondeam, plus virium, sanguinis, et nervorum in illis primis extitisse atque enituisse; [in his plus iudicii, ponderis et gravitatis]. Appellavi et Latinas Platonis epistolas, item de veterum Gallorum moribus, deque militia Caesaris, et institutam illam Platonis cum Aristotele conciliationem. [Scripsit idem leges, quibus Academiae

⁵⁴ Ramus, *Scholarum physicarum libri octo*, 1565, (Ong, 592); *Scholarum metaphysicarum libri quatuordecim*, 1566, (Ong, 595).

⁵⁵ Ibid., *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta*, 1569, (Ong, 703).

⁵⁶ *Ciceronis somnium ... Petri Rami ... praelectionibus explicatum*, 1546, (Ong, 42); *M.T. Ciceronis De fato liber, Petri Rami praelectionibus explicatus*, 1550, (Ong, 190);

Grammar, and adding to it rhetoric and logic, he further added his lectures on physics and mathematics, intending them to take the place of complete treatises on these arts. Afterwards he turned to the mathematical arts which he treated in the way we have already said. It is now possible to call Ramus a true master of the liberal arts (an honorific name and distinction which Cicero gave to Varro) because he so organized, gave shape to and perfected the seven liberal arts. He claimed to deal with them in such a way that he called one part refutative, and the other demonstrative imitating Aristotle's manner as well as his words. Examples of the former are his *Brutus' Problems*, his *Remarks on Aristotle*, his *Lectures on Grammar, on Rhetoric, Logic, Physics, Metaphysics*, and some mathematical lectures, in which he declared eloquently and in an oratorical fashion, what he disapproved of in each art, what he found blameworthy in the leading writers on each subject. Examples of the latter kind, the demonstrative, are all the arts which he shaped and organized or even those he restored. There are besides those commentaries which I have mentioned on some of Cicero's speeches, and on Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*; he once told me that in the interpretation of these he had followed Latomus, Sturm and Lefèvre d'Étaples, having from the beginning taken them as reliable methodical guides. There are in existence many very elegant speeches by him, as well as his most eloquent *Ciceronian*, and as this is the outstanding herald of literature, so his *Introduction to Mathematics*, a book which is even more illustrious and distinguished, is the herald of mathematics. There exists also a commentary on Cicero's *Treatise on Fate*, on his *Dream of Scipio*, and on his *First Book on Laws*. He published these last three eloquent, fluent and pedagogically fruitful commentaries in the first flush of youthful enthusiasm.

— *Nancel's opinion about Ramus's commentaries; Ramus's private letters; Nancel copied out and published Ramus's works; Nancel at Presles.*

If you ask me what my opinion is about Ramus's first and last commentaries, I shall immediately reply that in the former there is greater power, force and spirit, in the latter, greater judgement, weightiness and gravity. I have mentioned also the Latin *Plato's Letters, The Customs of*

M.T. Ciceronis De legibus liber primus, Petri Rami ... praelectionibus illustratus, 1554, (Ong, 210).

Parisiensis reformationis modus et forma elegans continebatur.] Deprehendi olim etiam abjectum inter adversaria epistolarum Latinarum volumen. Quas cum collegissem et exscribere pararem, sensit ille et ab instituto jussit desistere, ne forte eliminarem et in publicum darem, quas indignas luce judicabat, quod pleraeque juveni scriptae forent. Mihi tamen dignae visae quaedam, quae legantur, circiter numero centum, si is qui detinet, emitte in lucem animum inducat. Sunt et alia fortasse plura, quae nunc (45) non occurrunt, cum tamen omnia pridem mea manu descripserim, de omnibus cum authore saepius communicarim, omnia fere quae Rami nomine extant, typis mandanda curarim, et excudendo praefuerim, correxerimque quandiu, ut prius monui, per annos prope viginti cum Ramo contubernalis vixi mansique, tum discipulus, tum variorum ordinum in Praelleo ductor et praeceptor, tum post Duacensem meam regiam professionem reversus in Galliam, cum Ramo liberius philosophari et agere solitus, et jam Talaei quodammodo locum apud Ramum (sed utriusque discipulus obsequens atque officiosus) sortitus, [gradumque consecutus].

— *Rami cyclopaedia; Rami theologia; Ramus in factione de religione, amplectitur novam; Rami occasio calamitatis; duorum sapientum diversa consilia; res magnas aggredi periculosum; inanes hominum conatus, et spes incerta.*

Restant ultima Rami studia, et postremae lucubrationes, quas tum adoriri coepit, cum ab eo sum digressus, et intra paucos annos, quibus supervixit, est ⁽⁴³⁾ prosecutus, et in iisdem commortuus. Restabat vero ad absolvendam universam *ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν*, Theologia illa omnium ⁽⁴⁴⁾ artium nobilissima, praeclarissima, divinissimaque. Quamquidem ⁽⁴⁵⁾ Ramus cum ad certam illam methodum reducere studeret, ad quam et caeteras artes olim reducerat, coelumque ⁽⁴⁶⁾ Logico illustrare, et facilem expeditamque reddere (simodo quod cupiebat, assecutus est, qua de re liberum cuique suum relinquo iudicium) quam multis scholasticis quaestionibus implicitam et obscuratam dicebat, ita instituit atque informavit, ut videre est ⁵⁷. In quo tamen vereor ut omnibus possit (46) satisfacere :

⁽⁴³⁾ text *est*, ms *et*.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ ms *omnium*, text *omnem*.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ text *quamquidem*, ms *quamvis*.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ ms *coelumque* (?), text *coeloque*.

⁵⁷ Ramus's work on theology was published posthumously as *Commentariorum de religione Christiana libri quatuor*, 1576, (Ong, 637).

the Ancient Gauls, Caesar's Military Science, and the comparison he made between Plato and Aristotle. He also wrote laws in which the manner and form of the reform of the University of Paris was elegantly expressed. I once found also, lying about among his note-books, a volume of his Latin letters. When I had gathered them together and was preparing to transcribe them, he found out, and asked me to stop what I was doing, and not to send out into the world writings which he did not think worthy of the light, many of which had been written in his youth. Personally, however, I think that some of them, about a hundred in all, are worth reading, if the person who possesses them should decide to publish them. Perhaps there are many other works which do not come to mind at once, though a long time ago I did copy them all out in my own hand, discussing them all very often with their author and preparing for the printer almost everything which has been published in Ramus's name, and supervising the printing and correction of them. I did this for almost twenty years, as I have said before, when I lived with Ramus and stayed under his roof, as his pupil, and as a tutor and teacher of the various classes in the Collège de Presles, then on my return to France after holding a Royal Professorship in Douai, I used to frequent Ramus and philosophize with him more freely, and it fell to my lot to be promoted to Talon's place in Ramus's eyes, to some extent, though of course I had been a respectful and dutiful pupil of each of them.

— *Ramus's encyclopedia; his theology; in the religious controversy he adopts the new religion, the occasion of his tragedy; different advice given by two wise men; the difficulty of undertaking great deeds; man's vain attempts and the uncertainty of hope.*

It remains to speak of Ramus's final studies, and the last labours which he had begun to embark on when I left him, which he pursued during the few remaining years of his life, and in the midst of which he died. In order to round off the universal encyclopedia, there remained only theology, the noblest, most excellent and most divine of all the arts. Ramus strove to reduce it to that certain method to which he had once reduced the other arts, embellishing heaven by the use of logic, and make it readily accessible, (though whether he succeeded in his attempt I leave to everyone's own judgement); he claimed to have found it involved and obscured by many scholastic questions, and he organized it and shaped it as can now be seen. I fear, however, that he will not be able to satisfy everyone in this matter, for while he favoured that

quia dum uni parti studet ei quam postremo est amplexus, et quam professus est ad extremum, [magno suo malo, et vitae dispendio,] contempsit alteram. Cum enim Galliam universam duas potissimas in partes de religione opinionibus divisam [variis] ac distractam cerneret, ea posthabita, quam per vitam reliquam secutus erat ⁽⁴⁷⁾, ⁵⁸ alteram arripuit et mordicus tenuit, quae sui sibi fati ut propinqui, sic //10^r miserabilis et horrendi intra paucos annos caussam et necessitatem attulit.

Hic per me integrum cuique erit de Rami optione sentire et loqui quod volet : scio enim diversis diversa placere; et quod uni parti mirifice probatur, alteri modis omnibus improbari. Solonis ille consilium videtur esse secutus, qui in factione urbis aut regionis aliqua, alterutrius partis studia amplecti tuerique jussit unumquemque, neque ab hac aut illa parte, simulatione se jungi, ac velut tertium quoddam [factionis] genus instituere ⁵⁹. An sapientum alter ille Bias, opinor, consultius praecepit *λάθε βιώσας*? ⁶⁰ Hoc dico, in ejusmodi optione electioneque plerisque id usuvenire, quod dixit poeta, “Decipimur specie recti...” ⁶¹ Quod an Ramo acciderit, aliorum esto iudicium. Certum est autem, in ista optione si alteram partem delegisset, adhuc viveret magno Reip[ubl]. literariae commodo atque ornamento. Hoc tamen post M. Tullium in simili eventu videor posse citra partis cujusquam offensionem dicere : “Nemo unquam animo aut spe ⁽⁴⁷⁾ majora ⁽⁴⁸⁾ suscipiet, qui sibi non talium virorum memoriam atque imaginem ob oculos ponendam putet”, et “O fallacem hominum spem, fragilemque fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones, quae in medio spatio saepe franguntur et corruunt : et ante in ipso cursu obruuntur, quam portum conspiciere potuerunt!” ⁶² Sed de hac Rami tragica quadam catastrophe, et miserabili exitu prius quam dico, de corporis et victus, et morum genere statuque dicam.

— *Rami status et figura compositioque naturalis, et caetera quae ad corpus attinent; incessus et orationis gravitas; Ramus in risum profusior.*

Ramus statura corporis fuit procera, et quam mediocris, paulo celsiore,

⁽⁴⁷⁾ after *erat*, ms has “(quod idem Adr. Turnebo collegae in Regia professione paucis ante annis obtigerat), alteram ...”

⁽⁴⁸⁾ text *majora*, ms *maiore*.

⁵⁸ The manuscript addition “(quod idem Adr. Turnebo collegae in Regia professione paucis ante annis obtigerat), alteram ...” is an interesting unpublished comment about Turnèbe’s religious position; it is not, of course, known whether the omission of this key sentence from the printed text was Nancel’s idea or that of his printer, since he could have omitted it himself from the final draft.

⁵⁹ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 10, 1, 2.

party which he embraced latterly and which he professed to the very end, to his own great disadvantage and the loss of his life, he despised the other. For when he saw the whole of France torn and divided into two main parties in the matter of religious opinion, he gave up the religion which he had practised during his previous life, and seized on to the other and held fast to it; in a few years it was to become the necessary cause of his imminent, wretched and terrible fate.

On this point as far as I am concerned, everyone shall be at liberty to think and say exactly what he likes about Ramus's choice. I know that different things please different people, and that what one side approves of wholeheartedly is totally unacceptable to the other. He seems to have followed the advice of Solon, who, whenever there arose a municipal or regional controversy ordered every single person to embrace and observe the interests of one side or the other, and not to depart from this side to form a third party, on any pretext. Or can we say that the other wise man, Bias I think it was, gave better advice, "Lead a hidden life"? I would say that in this sort of choice or decision, many people experience what the poet said, "We are deceived by the appearance of the good", but I leave to others to judge whether this is what happened to Ramus. What is certain is that if he had chosen the other side he would still be alive, to the great advantage and ornament of the Republic of Letters. I think I can say without giving offence, like Cicero in a similar situation: "No one will ever imagine, or hope to undertake, anything important, unless he thinks that the memory and example of such men should be kept before one's eyes", and "O elusive hopes of men, frail fortune and our useless efforts, which are often broken off and destroyed in mid-course, and sink before they can reach the port." But before I go on to speak of the tragic catastrophe which overtook Ramus, and of his miserable death, I shall first describe his physical appearance, his way of life and his habits.

— *Ramus's stature, his appearance, and his natural proportions, and other bodily characteristics; his walk and the gravity of his speech; he was rather prone to laughter.*

Ramus was a tall man, a little above normal height, upright and

⁶⁰ *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Pars III (Leipzig, 1933; reprint Stuttgart, 1967), p. 228, 41.

⁶¹ Horace, *Ars poetica*, 25.

⁶² Cicero, *Laelius*, 27, 102; Nancel has tampered with the text a little; Cicero, *De oratore*, 3, 2, 7.

recta et eleganti, satis densa solidaque, bene ad proportionem partium universarum singularumque compositi; colore subfusco, et non tam nigro, quam minime albo, si hominem Gallum reputes, ut Italum Hispanumve ex eo posses [conjicere et] aestimare. Capite amplo, crine atro, barba nigra, hirsuta, [densa,] prolixa et ampla, ventre paulum prominulo, oculis [charopis vel utcumque] nigricantibus, naso aquilino, fronte exporrecta, facie liberali, ore venusto, et ad risum fere semper modice diductis labris [aperto], praesertim in occurso amicorum et familiarium, ut linguam et dentes conspiciere tum liceret : alias gravitatis et austeritatis multae, ita ut solo intuitu et affatu terreret suos, aut alienum facile quemlibet. Incessus fuit plane regius, et nulli hominum magis ad gravitatem dignitatemque compositus; quem ego vidi plerosque de industria imitari, ac (48) referre conatos. Sermo inter amicos blandus et comis; irati tamen omnino terrificus. Vox gravis, aut graviore paulo altior (inter basin et tenorem media) sonora tamen, et auditu suavis. Nisi quod in docendo siquando efferret altius, jam tum gracilescebat, maxime cum illud sibi frequens ingeminaret (ergo, ergo). In quo vidi ab amicis, et praecipue a Quintino Doctore, saepe illum admonitum, quod inter legendum et orandum, qualibet ex occasione subridebat. Sed hoc utique illi more oratorio ad gratiam erat sponte quaesitum. Scitum enim est,

si vis me flere, dolendum

Est primum tibi... ⁶³

— *Rami actio mirifica; Ramus quomodo gestum informarit; Ramus nunquam otiosus; Rami exercitatio.*

Actio, gestus, et pronuntiatio fuit in illo singularis : ut a natura factus orator atque de industria effectus quodammodo videretur. Ita ut Demosthenis illam tantopere laudandam, et primas et medias et ultimas partes, in arte tenentem ὑπόκρισιν unus omnium maxime Ramus referret atque exprimeret ⁶⁴. Quamquidem tum caeteris studiis, et naturali compositione corporis, tum hoc modo instituit juvitque. //10^v Legendo meditandoque domi et in ampla bibliotheca appensum ex adverso grande speculum contuebatur globosum, [hemisphaericum,] et circumquaque [limbo] viridans; ex eoque speciem oris, oculorum, vultus componebat; simul et ejusdem viridi calore, languidam defessamque legendo aciem oculorum reficiebat.

⁶³ Horace, *Ars poetica*, 102-3

⁶⁴ Cicero, *Brutus*, 38, 142.

distinguished, rather thick-set and solidly built, and well-proportioned in each and every part of the body; his skin was darkish, not so much black as not quite white enough for a Frenchman; because of this you would rather take him for an Italian or a Spaniard. He had a large head, dark hair, a thick black beard, bushy, full and flowing, a slightly protruding belly, bright blackish eyes, an aquiline nose, and a broad forehead; he had a frank and open face with the lips almost always slightly apart, as though he was about to laugh, especially in the company of his friends and familiars, so that you could see his tongue and his teeth; at other times he was serious and very austere, easily terrifying his own people, or a stranger, by a mere look or a word. He had a royal way of walking — nobody had a more dignified or graver walk than he did — which I saw many people deliberately try to imitate or reproduce. His way of speaking was pleasant and courteous among his friends, but when he was angry it was quite frightening. His voice was bass, or perhaps slightly higher, between that of bass and tenor, yet sonorous and pleasant to listen to. When, however, he raised his voice in his teaching, then it became sharper, especially when he repeated frequently as he did, “Therefore, therefore”. I often saw his friends tell him about this, especially Quintin, doctor of Canon Law, saying that he used to smile for no reason at all when he was lecturing or making a speech. Here, too, no doubt he was consciously seeking after a persuasive oratorical effect, for it is well-known that

“if you want me to weep, you must feel sorrow yourself.”

— *Ramus’s wonderful delivery; how he perfected his gestures; Ramus never idle; his exercise.*

His delivery, gestures and pronuntiation were exceptional, so that he seemed to have been made an orator by nature, and formed into one by art. Ramus, far more than anyone else, represented and expressed properly that famous delivery of Demosthenes, which deserves so much praise, and holds the first, middle and last places in the art. He produced this and improved it by his other studies and by his natural bodily gifts, and also in the following manner: when he was reading and meditating at home in his vast library, he used to look at a large rounded mirror hanging opposite him, hemispherical and with a green surround, and from it he decided on the features of his mouth, eyes and face, and at the same time he refreshed his tired, exhausted eyesight in its green glow.

Serias fere semper res obibat, et in otio de negotiis cogitabat, et in solitudine secum loqui solebat. Atque ut Cato solitum dicere (49) Africanum scripsit, nunquam minus otiosus, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solus, quam cum solus esset, ut nec cessaret unquam, et interdum colloquio alterius non egeret ⁶⁵. Interdum tamen curas et studia seria remittebat, et ambulando vel solus, vel cum altero, ut quotidie bis saltem diutule, animi obtusam aciem recreabat. Incipiam autem a penso diurno dicere.

— *Quid Ramus singulis diebus agere soleret a mane in noctem? Rami prandium.*

Surgebat hora saltem quinta, et hyeme saepe maturius, circa horam quartam. Studia matutina (nisi quid caussae necessariae interpellasset) ad horam decimam vel undecimam producebat. Inde confectis aliquot inambulando spatiis, atque schola tota [bis terque] lustrata, prandium sumebat satis illud quidem breve, [et parcum] et frugale, contentus vervecina aut vitulina elixa, et jure albo ex ovi vitello et omphacio commixtis liquori carnum. Potio vini bene diluti, eaque mediocris, et infra heminam, quam cheopinam ⁶⁶ Graeca imitatione dicimus (ἀπὸ τοῦ χέειν καὶ πίπειν); (49) bellaria secundam mensam finiebant, caseus, mala, pyra, cerasia, et ut sors et tempestas seu temporis occasio offerebat. A prandio conquiescebat, sive solus, ut saepe; sive cum convivis (ut raro in prandio) miscens jocos. Post a mensa surgebat, et scholam perlustrabat, atque aestate interdum meridiabatur: reliquo aut[em] anni tempore, post confecta aliquot spatia, circa horam secundam ad studia redibat alacrior, eaque in quintam aut sextam horam producebat, legendo interdum, (50) et saepius scribendo.

— *Ramus plus scribebat, quam legebat; Ramus componendo Latine exercitatissimus; Rami dicendo scribendoque peritia, rara in bonis oratoribus: Rami cura peculii.*

Ex quo enim hominem novi, vix unquam observavi sola lectione librorum animum pascentem, sed semper scriptitantem. Nisi quod interdum, et mox a prandio, et statim a coena, quietus aut ambulans, aut recumbens,

(49) no punctuation in text or ms here.

⁶⁵ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 3, 1, 1 with omissions.

⁶⁶ For *cheopinam* see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, sub voce: "Quarta pars oenophori Gallici, nostris *Chopine*. Nancelius in *Vita Rami*: Potio πίπειν quod mutuatus est ab hoc Baifi loco de Re vascularia: *Cheopina, une chopine, a Graeco χέειν πίπειν: quod*

He was almost always engaged on serious matters; even during his leisure-time he was thinking about his business, and when he was on his own he used to talk to himself; and, as Cato wrote of Scipio, he used to say that he was never less at leisure than when he was at leisure, never less alone than when he was alone, so that he never stopped, and sometimes did not need another's conversation. Sometimes, however, Ramus did put aside his cares and serious studies, and walking either alone or with someone else, which he did for a short while at least twice a day, he sharpened the blunted edge of his mind. I shall now speak about his daily programme.

— *What Ramus used to do each day from morning to night; his lunch.*

He used to rise at five o'clock at the latest and in winter often earlier, about four o'clock. He carried on his morning's work, unless some pressing business prevented him, until ten or eleven o'clock, and then he would walk up and down for some time, inspecting the whole college two or three times; after that he used to take his rather frugal, sparse and hasty lunch, being content with boiled mutton or veal, with a white sauce made from the yolk of an egg and oil from unripe olives, mixed with liquid from the meat. The second course consisted of a drink of well-diluted very ordinary wine, less than a *hemina*, which we call "chopine" in imitation of the Greek (from "pour" and "drink"), and cheese, apples, pears or cherries according as chance, the weather and the season offered. After his lunch he used to rest, either alone as often happened, or exchanging jokes with his guests if he had any, a rare occurrence at lunch-time. Afterwards he rose from the table and looked through the college, and in summer he sometimes took a siesta; during the rest of the year, after a short walk, about two o'clock he returned to his work with renewed vigour, and continued at it until five or six o'clock, sometimes reading but more often writing.

— *Ramus spent more time writing than reading; he was very well-versed in composing in Latin; his skill in both speaking and writing, rare in good orators; Ramus's care for his property.*

From the time I first knew the man I scarcely ever saw him merely reading books in order to cultivate his mind, but always writing away. Sometimes, however, soon after lunch or immediately after dinner, he

in ea tantum funditur, aut hauritur, vini, quantum homo sitibundus uno haustu adsumere possit" [!]

legentem me aut alium admittebat, et historia vel scripto aliquo facili placidoque animum delectabat. Alioqui semper, uti dixi, et calamo et manu cogitationes mentis et sensa chartis mandare solitus : ⁽⁵⁰⁾ tanta quidem scribendi celeritate, ut nemo hominum, quod sciam, ne vernaculo quidem condens et componens aliquid sermone, queat aut assequi, aut saltem vincere. Ita linguam Latinam sibi fecerat familiarem, ut non tantum dicendo ex tempore, sed scribendo etiam foret exercitatissimus, ita ut duos amanuenses posset unus vincere et fatigare [scribendo]. Neque enim illi accidit, quod M. Tullius de multis oratoribus tradidit : ut sint ad dicendum paratissimi, sed ad scribendum tardi; aut contra, scribendo celeres, dicendo autem tardi et impediti; quibus aut scriptio locutioni, aut scriptioni locutio minime respondet, aut quorum denique vendibilis oratio, sed scripta infantia indisertaque. Sic igitur Ramus toto die in studiis traducto (nisi una ⁽⁵¹⁾ hora ad publicam lectionem professionemque vocasset), sub vesperam inambulabat, auditoria et professores domesticos circumlustrabat, hos hortabatur, illos increpabat, nonnullos [virgis] caedi discipulos jubebat in aliquo deprehensos (51) scholastico crimine.

— *Rami coena; Rami mensa frugalis, et plane philosophica.*

Sicque una fere hora traducta, ad coenam sese accingebat, //11^r et eam quidem liberaliorem, simul elixis assas carnes admiscens; citra luxum tamen aut excessum omnem, nihil fere supra vitulinam aut vervecinam quotidie admittens, aut pullos gallinaceos, aut columbinos, aut caponem, aut leporem, [aut gallinaginem, aut at(t)aginem ⁶⁷ sive per-

⁽⁵⁰⁾ text *mandare solitus*, ms *mandando*.

⁽⁵¹⁾ text *una*, ms *bona*.

⁶⁷ Some difficulty is presented by *at(t)aginem*; from the text it looks as though Nancel sees it as a kind of partridge. The dictionaries are not very helpful, and suggest various equivalents such as "poule sauvage", "gelinotte des bois", grouse, heath-cock, wood-cock, hazel-grouse, ortolan and francolin. Charles Estienne (*De Latinis et Graecis nominibus arborum, fruticum, herbarum, piscium et avium liber*, third edition, Paris, 1547, *sub voce*) has the following : "Laurentius Valla in Raudensem ab Italis vulgo Francolinum vocari scribit" and the description he gives from Athenaeus seems to confirm this. However, he does not give a French translation as he usually does, and this suggests that he too had some difficulty. Valla's notice can be found in his *Opera Omnia* (Basle, 1540; reprint by E. Garin, Turin 1962), p. 396. Huguët, *Dictionnaire du français du seizième siècle*, under "Gelinote de boys" has "Poule sauvage. cf. Rabelais, IV, 59", and adds a quotation from Belon, *Nature des oyseaulx*, p. 252, "Un oyseau nommé gelinotte de bois est quelque fois apporté à la court et à Paris,

used to allow me or someone else to read to him, while he was resting, walking or lying down, and he took pleasure in a story or some light, peaceful book. Otherwise, as I have said, he always used to commit his thoughts and feelings to paper himself, writing so rapidly that no one, as far as I know, even composing something in the vernacular, could keep up with him, or at least outstrip him. Latin had become so familiar to him, and he was so well practised in speaking and even in writing it without preparation, that on his own he could outstrip and tire out two secretaries as he wrote. What Cicero said about many orators was not true of him, that they are quite ready to speak, but slow to write, or on the other hand, quick at writing, but slow and inhibited at speaking; their writing did not match their speaking or their speaking their writing; or finally, their speech was agreeable, but their writings were without elegance or eloquence. So therefore Ramus spent the whole day in study (unless public lecturing and teaching called him away for an hour), and towards the evening he would walk about, going round inspecting the classrooms and the college teachers, encouraging some and rebuking others. He would order some boys who had been caught out in a breach of discipline to be flogged.

— *Ramus's dinner : his frugal, philosophical table.*

And so, after about an hour, he would prepare for dinner. This was a more copious meal than lunch, consisting of both boiled and roasted meats; it was not, however, luxurious or excessive at all, consisting of almost nothing but veal or mutton every day, or young chickens, pigeons, a capon, a hare, a woodcock, a francolin or a partridge, or larks, if some chance offered it or some friend sent it to him as a present. For I remem-

venant des forests d'Ardene, et principalement en hyver, lequel estimons estre celuy qu'on nommoit anciennement *gallina rustica*". Robert Estienne (*Dictionarium Latino-gallicum*, 1538) translates *Beccasse* as "attagen", and "attagena", yet the *Dictionnaire Françoislatin*, edited by Iehan Thierry (1564) distinguishes between *beccasse*, which is "rusticula, gallinago, scolopax" and *francolin* which is "attagen" or "attagena". So does F. Pomey S. J., *Indiculus Universalis* (Amsterdam 1703), p. 55: Bécasse - Rusticula - Snep, and p. 56: Francolin, sorte de faisan - attagan - Hazelhoen. It is as much a matter of ornithological as of linguistic knowledge. There can be little doubt what Ramus actually had for dinner. The sentence "Memini siquidem..." presents some difficulty. *Coenam condicere mihi* should mean "to announce himself as guest for dinner at my house" but this is odd, though not perhaps impossible, given the nature of the dishes. P. G. Walsh suggests the present translation, or possibly (reading *conviva*) "I was to attend as a guest..."

dicem, aut galeritas,] et siquid fors obtulisset, aut amicus dono misisset. Memini si quidem illum mihi nuper ex Flandria reduci ita coenam condicere solitum, adessem convivae in partem leporis, aut cuniculi, aut similis ferculi insoliti. Coena enim ut dixi, illi velut curis omnibus soluto, liberior esse et sane liberalior solebat, et cibi plus, et plus vini meracioris (non tamen meri in totum) sumere consueto; et quidem ascitis convivis, cum prandium solus ut plurimum caperet. Erat tamen semper coena philosophica, tum si victum et dapes, tum si sermones convivales spectes. Semper enim aliquid eruditum et musis gratum agitabatur inter scyphos; eratque nobis pueris plerisque [et convivis cumprimis nobilibus, ut olim Stuardo Scoti regis filio utrique, et aliis nonnullis], coena una in pastus animorum doctrinamque, quae caeteris corpora paverat cibos solidos et alibiles ⁽⁵²⁾ edentibus.

— *Historia; Ramus etiam in convivio disertus; alia historia: Ramus mutus in convivio Italorum.*

Ita nihil sinebat temporis effluere sine suo aut suorum profectu et emolumento. Vidi tum alias, tum semel apud Consiliarium D. Sirietum, lauto convivio et opiparo multis claris [et primoribus] (52) viris mulieribusque accumbentibus, in sermonem egregium dilapsus hominem ex occasione, tanta facundia, tantaque attentione vernacule dicere, ut omnes obliiti ciborum dapumque, vel ante mediam mensam ⁽⁵³⁾ ab unius dicentis Rami ore penderent. Quod illi saepe foris et apud externos convivanti accidit. Sed ut illud admiratione, hic risu dignum fuit quod dicam. Aliquot nobiles Itali Ramum vocarant ad convivium, hominis fama commoti. Aduit parcus conviva, et in totum mutus praeter morem, quia cum illi Latine [admodum] nescirent, neque Gallice loquerentur, toto convivii tempore Italicos sermones agitarunt Ramo incognitos. Sicque a convivio sobrius, et colloquio minime dignatus Ramus desurgit ἀσύνβολος, domumque indignabundus repetit.

— *Oblectatio Rami a coena; bursarii Praellei; Ramus musices amans; Jocus in Ramum pavones alentem.*

Caeterum cum domi coenaret et apud suos, aut apud vicinos, ut saepe apud Orontium, [mathematicum,] aut Quintinum [Heduum, Doctorem in Utroque Jure,] a coena aut sermones docti et faceti continuabantur

⁽⁵²⁾ text *solidos et alibiles*, ms *solis et alabiles*.

⁽⁵³⁾ text *mensam*, ms *coenam*.

ber that when I had just returned from Flanders, he was accustomed to announce a dinner-party, at which I was to attend on him as my fellow-guest and to share a hare, a rabbit, or some similarly unusual dish. His dinner, as I have said, used to be freer and much more liberal, as though he had been released from all his cares, and he used to take more food and greater quantities of stronger wine (not, however, entirely unmixed), and he usually invited guests, whereas he used to take his lunch on his own. Dinner was always a philosophical meal, if you consider either the food and the dishes, or the conversation of the guests. There was always something learned and graceful being passed about among the cups, and dinner was both food for our minds, and a lesson in itself to most of us boys, and indeed the guests, especially the noble ones, such as the two sons of the King of Scotland and many others, and provided wholesome, and nourishing bodily food for the rest of the people who were eating.

— *An anecdote : Ramus was eloquent even at table; another anecdote : Ramus kept silent at a banquet with Italians.*

Thus he would never allow time to slip past without some progress and profit to himself and his own people. Among other places, I saw him once at the house of the councillor M. Sirietus, in a splendid and magnificent banquet, where there were many prominent and distinguished men and women sitting at the table, slip into an excellent improvised conversation, and speak in the vernacular with such attentiveness, that they all forgot their food from early on in the meal, and hung on the lips of Ramus alone. This often happened to him when he dined out at other peoples' houses. But just as this was a subject for admiration, what I am going to say next was a subject for ridicule. Some Italian noblemen heard of Ramus's reputation and invited him to a banquet. He put in a sober appearance, and was unusually silent throughout the meal, for since they knew practically no Latin, and did not speak French, they spent the whole meal bandying Italian about, a language which Ramus did not know. Ramus rose from the meal quite sober, and, since he had been slighted, having made no contribution to it, returned home in indignation.

— *Ramus's after-dinner amusements; the bursary scholars at Presles; Ramus the music lover; a joke about Ramus rearing peacocks.*

Yet when he dined at home, and among his own people, or at a neighbour's house, as he often did for example at the house of the

in horam nonam, aut fritillus seu alveolus porrigebatur, aut pueri symphoniaci vocabantur; videlicet bursarii domestici pueri alumnique (quos ego inter educatus et institutus fui), quiquidem musicam edocti, convivas suo cantu demulcebant atque oblectabant. Ramus enim licet musicam non calleret, et parcissime cantaret, tamen musices erat amantissimus, tum vocalis, tum organicae. Imo et avibus oscinibus delectabatur plurimum. Atque etiam pavones domi alebat, ut invidi quidem (53) objiciebant, congener sibi et laudis aemulum genus volucris.

— *Ramus culcitra plumea non utebatur.*

Postremus sequebatur somnus, isque super lodice [sive matta], aut super palea seu stramine duro, nunquam super plumea culcitra, tum quia de nephritide sibi metuebat, tum quod sciret molli et plumeo decubitu // 11^v lumbos incalescere, ⁽⁵⁴⁾ et *ὀνειρογόνον*, venereaque [iis qui coelibem vitam colunt (qualem vitam ille degit omnem)] somnia immitti. Qua de caussa thoracem ad lumbos fissum gestabat, [neque diphloide aut dipthera, nisi raro utebatur] ⁶⁸. Somnus si non facile succederet, ut saepe contingebat, tum propter diurna studia et cogitationes animum inquietantes, tum propter frequentes adversariorum turbas et insultus, vocabatur puer, qui legendo per horam unam aut alteram somnum accerseret.

— *Rami precum ratio; Ramus missam audit quotidie.*

Haec fere Ramo fuit vita diurna, et his actionibus dierum singulorum partitae vices. Ut hoc tamen intelligas, secum preces meditari solitum, sed eas, ut judico, perbreves; nisi forte matutinas ex breviario, dum missae adesset quotidie, produceret longius. Ita enim illi moris erat, quo tempore apud illum vixi, quotidie sacro ad horam sextam interesse, et

⁽⁵⁴⁾ ms has two or three illegible words “dolore...” and “in...” glossing *nephritide* and *incalescere*.

⁶⁸ It is always difficult to work out exactly what Renaissance Latin writers meant when they used classical or late Latin words to describe modern dress. Some help may be obtained from a book published by Robert Estienne in 1535, *De re vestitaria libellus, ex Bayfio excerptus: addita vulgaris linguae interpretatione, in adolescentulorum gratiam atque utilitatem* (B.N.V.36011). Here we read: “Thoracem appellarunt veteres, *Une piece qui couuure lestomach*, a denominatione pectoris, quod pectus et thoracem tegat, unde thoracibus lineis antiquos pugnasse testis est Homerus” (p. 12). On *Diplois* the note is: “Diploidem pro eo quod vulgus vocat *pourpoint*, veteres non usurpasse video, neque etiam eo genere vocabuli usos unquam fuisse. Dici autem debet ἀπὸ τοῦ διπλός καὶ διπλοῦς, quod pro duplicato thorace sumi videretur”; it

mathematician Oronce Fine or Quintin of Autun, Doctor of both Laws, after the meal either the learned witty conversation would go on until nine o'clock, or dice or a draughts-board would be brought out, or choir-boys would be called in to sing, that is the college bursars and pupils (among whom I received my own education and training), who were trained in music and could charm and please the guests by their singing. Although Ramus had no musical skill and sang very seldom, he was a great lover of music, both vocal and instrumental. He liked the singing of birds, and also looked after peacocks at home, a kind of bird, as those who were jealous of him said, resembling him in its desire for praise.

— *Ramus did not use a feather mattress.*

After this he went to sleep on a rough blanket or on hard straw, never on a feather mattress, both because he was afraid of getting backache, and because he knew that one's limbs become hot in a soft feather bed and bring on pollution and erotic dreams in those who lead a celibate life (such as he always led himself). For this reason he wore a stomacher, and only rarely a lined or leather garment. If sleep did not come easily, as often happened because of his daily study and disturbing thoughts, or because of the large numbers of opponents and their insults, he sent for a boy to read to him for an hour or two and bring on sleep.

— *An account of Ramus's prayers; he hears mass every day.*

This was what Ramus's life was like almost every day, and each day was divided like this among such activities. You must understand, however, that he used to say private prayers, though I think that they were brief, except when he made them longer by reciting matins from the breviary, at the time when he used to attend daily mass. For during the time I lived with him his custom was to hear mass at six o'clock every

goes on to say that the only possible meaning would be to use it "pro thorace laneo" (p. 12). Du Cange (*Glossarium*) has: "Diplois Διπλοῖς Laena duplicata. Gall. Surtout doublé. Psal. 108 Operiantur sicut Diploide confusione sua", and adds the note: "Legitur Baruch 5. 2. in Actis SS. Junii tom. I. pag. 791. Concil. Hisp. tom. 3. pag. 663. tom. 4. pag. 614. ubi hujusmodi vestes Clericis prohibentur, quemadmodum et Monachis, in Statutis Cisterc. anni 1433. apud Marten. Anecd. tom. 4. col. 1585". For *Diphthera*, Estienne's *Thesaurus* gives "Pellis Amaltheae caprae", and Liddell and Scott give, for the Greek form, "anything made of leather, leathern jerkin".

eodem suos omnes ⁽⁵⁵⁾ cogere, ut qui bis terve abesset, nisi seria excusatione legitimaque usus, vapularet [acriter]. Quod ille faciebat vel ex animo, vel ut adversariis omnem occasionem calumniandi circa religionis cultum amputaret.

— *Rami sobrietas in victu cultuque corporis et vestimentorum ratio.*

Sed de corpore ut absolvam dicere, hoc addam. Sicut in victu Ramus fuit temperans, (54) sic in cultu et vestitu corporis plane mediocris, honesto tamen, et qualis virum modestum [et gravem] decebat. Toga non nisi lanea vel pannea utebatur, eaque forte gemina, cubiculari, altera pellicea seu pellibus suffulta, altera simplici : forensi autem sive cultiore triplici fere, sive tota pannosa, sive serico aut bysso [purpurave] ante[rius] exornata, et limbis circumdata. Sagum paulo cultius, vel sericum, vel holosericum, sive undulatum, sive heteromallum. Caligae omnino tenues, et formam crurum femorumque imitatae, quales ille Adamicas joco vocitabat. Pileus pro more quadratus in urbe, alias galerus, et novissimo pileus holosericus ⁶⁹.

— *Rami supellex; balneum et lotiones; asturco.*

Supellex domi satis lauta illa quidem, sed minime sumptuosa minusque elegans. Bibebat ex vitro; vasis argenteis non utebatur, ne salino quidem ⁷⁰. Linteis plane vulgaribus. Balneo semel in anno circa Solstitium aestivum uti solebat. Bis quotidie citra cibum, aut saltem mane semel, manus, barbam et faciem vino albo aqua diluto abluebat. Equum asturconem alebat, eumque semper unicum. Namque peregrinaturus adhibebat unum aut alterum amicum et comitem.

(⁵⁵) text *suos omnes*, ms *omnes suos*.

⁶⁹ There is some confusion in Nancel's account about how many smocks or coats Ramus had, and what they were made of. In *De re vestiaria libellus* quoted above, *toga* is translated as "une longue robe" (p. 26), and for *pellicea vestis* we have "*robe fourree*, quam foderatam vulgus dicit, quae etiam pellibus duplicata dici potest" (p. 44). Different sorts of silk are described, with the comment, "Falluntur autem maxime qui Sericum putant esse quam vulgo setam vocamus; quamque conficiunt isti vermiculi qui passim in Italia et Gallia lanificii causa nutriuntur. Sunt enim bombyces, non autem seres" (p. 41). On the following page we read "Byssina vestis, ex lino delicatissimo et subtilissimo composita, quod byssus appellabatur, adferebaturque Romam ex Achaia ad mulierum delicias" (p. 42). For *sagum* we read "*ung sayon*, genus tunicae militaris quae armis superinduebatur : alii accoustramentum vocant, ut praetoriani" (p. 25). There is a useful comment on *heteromallum* : "Hodie veste Serica heteromalla utimur, quam villosam et villutam vulgo dicimus, *robe de uelours*. Quemadmodum

day, and oblige all his people to do the same. If anyone was absent two or three times without a good and legitimate excuse, he was soundly beaten — he did this sincerely or to deprive his opponents of any opportunity of calumny about his religious practice.

— *Ramus's sobriety in his diet and his appearance, and his manner of dress.*

In order to finish off talking about physical matters, I shall add just this. As Ramus was moderate at table, so he was quite ordinary in his personal appearance and in his dress, but respectable as befitted a sober and serious man. His smock was of wool or cloth only and sometimes doubled. The indoor one consisted of one layer stuffed with hide or pelts and the other as it was; his outdoor one was more ornate, usually with three layers, all of cloth, or silk or cotton or purple cloth adorned at the front and lined with fringes. His cape was rather more ornate, made either of silk, or velvet and either short or spun. His boots were quite thin, following the shape of his legs and thighs, which he jokingly used to call adamic. In town, he wore a square hat, as was the custom, otherwise a bonnet, and most recently a velvet hat.

— *Ramus's furniture; how he bathed and washed; his Spanish gennet.*

The furniture in his house was fine enough, but not at all extravagant and still less luxurious. He drank from a glass, and did not use silver vessels, not even a salt-cellar. His linen was very ordinary. He took a bath once a year about the time of the summer solstice, and, twice a day before meals, or at least once in the morning, he washed his hands, his beard and his face in white wine diluted with water. He kept a Spanish gennet, and never had more than one at a time : when he wanted to go on a journey, he relied on some friend or companion or other.

et lanea Heteromalla, quam trippam, ni fallor, appellamus, *trippe de uelours* (pp. 42-3). Pomey, o.l., p. 116 has Etoffe veluë d'un côté — Vestis heteromalla, and ... des deux côtés — V. Amphimalla. *Vestis undulata* is glossed as "*de camelot*, quod ejus contextu undarum fluctus imitetur" (p. 41). The main difficulty here is the relation between silk and velvet, and that *holosericus* is sometimes translated "silk" and sometimes "velvet". Finally *pileus* is "ung bonnet" and *galerus* is "ung bonnet rond" and has the comment, "Fortasse Galerius non erat absimilis pileolo quem hodie Graeci, quos Albanos vulgo vocamus, sub oblonga cyrbasia gestare solent : cujusmodi etiam nunc Senatores Veneti utuntur, et in Academia Parrhisina scholastici : sed iis nunc usus aliam formam dedit" (pp. 5-6).

⁷⁰ Horace, *Carmina*, 2, 16, 13.

— *Rami exercitationis genus; Rami barba; Ramus imberbis; jocus.*

Sed praeter mihi dicta, haec duo adjiciam : Primum, quod ad exercitationem corporis attinet, coluisse pilae parvae usum, et forte semel in hebdomade, bis terve a prandio colludere unum uni solitum. Quod ne spectante populo fieret, privatim (55) domi sphaeristerium construxisse, licet et breve et angustum, sed quod duobus sufficeret. Alterum est de barba, quam alebat admodum vastam et prolixam, quae [sicut] plurimum homini [gravi et philosopho] addebat et decoris et dignitatis, sic et adversariis invidiae tantumdem. Ex quo bis illi contigit Rectoris edicto [barbam] radere, quia Parisiensibus omnibus //12^r gymnasiarchis barba rasa esse praecipiebatur; non tam opinor, necessaria de caussa, quam velut pavoni, ut jactabant, suam caudam, sic ut Ramo gloriabundo barbam demerent. Sed quod cuculo dicitur implumi accidere, ut nido non efferatur, [aut cervo cornibus positus ut delitescat], sic Ramo nuper attonso pedem domo aliquandiu efferre verecundiae fuit ac pudori.

— *Ramus integra valetudine usus; Ramus syncope corripitur; Ramus coryzae et branchio obnoxius.*

Tale igitur vitae genus et institutum servanti, et bene nato, beneque temperato a natura P. Ramo rarissime morbis tentari contigit, nisi quod puer adhuc peste laboravit, ad alterum inguen oborto bubone. Non tamen memini, intra annos viginti, quibus fere cum illo versatus sum, morbo vel per triduum laborasse, ut cogeretur lecto decumbere, vel domi manere, [et a consuetis avocari]. Adfui illi quondam solus, cum per horam dimidiam [defectus animo et] exolutus humi jaceret velut mortuus, sine sensu et motu ullo, quod annulum, quem insignem manu gerebat, insculpto adamante, vi multa unguibus dentibusque mane avulsisset, quem digito per (56) noctem oblitus gestaverat. Vidi tamen frequenter coryzae vel catarrho obnoxium, vix ut possit eloqui, ideo ne publice quidem legere aut profiteri.

— *Rami opes, et annui redditus, unde; Ramus abbatiam recusat.*

Atque haec quidem de iis quae ad corpus attinent, nisi quid forte et nos et alios latuit. Opes vero possedit mediocres, plane infra decem aureorum millia. Tantum abfuit a Cicerone, Seneca, Virgilio, et beatis illis (ne de divitibus dicam, sed iis comparem, qui ingeniorum felicitate claruerunt, et honores opesve his artibus quaesierunt) quibus tanta merces foecunditatis ingenii Imperatorum liberalitate, et artis suae uberrimo quaestu proventuque contigit. Annuus illi redditus omni ex parte

— *The kind of exercise Ramus took; his beard; Ramus without a beard — a joke.*

I shall add two things to what I have already said : the first, concerning physical exercise, is that he took up hand-ball, and perhaps two or three times a week after lunch he used to play with only one other person. To prevent people from watching him he had a court built at home, small and narrow it is true, but big enough for two to play in. The second is about his beard which he allowed to grow large and bushy, enhancing the decorum and dignity of a serious man and a philosopher, and providing a source of envy for his opponents. Because of this he was obliged on two occasions to shave off his beard by edict of the Rector, because all college principals in Paris were instructed to shave off their beards. Not so much, I think, out of any real necessity, but rather in order to make the arrogant Ramus shave off his beard which was like the tail of the peacock they claimed he resembled. But in the same way as it is said that a featherless cuckoo does not leave the nest, or that a stag hides when it has shed its antlers, so when Ramus had been shaved of his beard, he felt too frightened and ashamed for a time to put his foot outside his own door.

— *Ramus's enjoyment of good health; he suffers an attack; he was subject to colds and hoarseness.*

Therefore, since Ramus kept to this kind of life and programme, and because of his good birth and his natural temperance, he was rarely afflicted with illness, except that when he was still a boy he caught the plague, having a tumour on one of his legs. But I do not recall in all the twenty years I spent with him that he was ever ill for three days at a time, and have to take to his bed, or stay in the house, or was prevented from doing his usual things. I was once alone with him when for half an hour he lay on the ground exhausted and unconscious, as though he were dead, and completely without feeling or movement; this happened because he had pulled off one morning a fine engraved diamond ring which he used to wear, using his nails and his teeth with great force, having worn it by mistake during the night. I frequently saw him however suffering so badly from a head-cold or catarrh, that he could hardly speak, and so could not lecture or teach publicly.

— *Ramus's wealth, his annual revenue, and their source; he refuses an abbacy.*

This is all there is to say about material facts, unless there is anything

circiter [sexcentorum aureorum, vel] bis millenarum librarum fuit. Nam e stipendio regiae professionis infra quingentas libras quotannis accipiebat, e cubiculis collegii locandis, et professorum auditoribus exteris tantumdem forte corradebat. Sed dum ipse domi legeret cum Talaeo, singulis mensibus libras circiter centum colligebat. E gymnasii redditibus annuis partim urbanis, partim praediis rusticis ac dominiis, circiter sexcentas [vel nongentas] libras numerabat. Habuit praeterea prioratum quendam Rhedonensem in dioecesi Cadurcensi, et paroeciam Lutetiae D. Nicolai a Cardinetto⁽⁵⁶⁾. [Hanc Talaeo sacra capessenti legavit. Ex prioratu Rhedonensi centum coronatos vel plures singulis annis capiebat.] Nam Abbatiam a Cardinale suo Mecoenate oblatam, velut laborum et (57) officiorum praemium, recusavit; nescio an ob id, quod exilior foret, et pinguius sacerdotium ex pollicitatione Henrici regis speraret. Sed spe delusus inani, verum illud esse comperit, "Fronte capillata, sed post occasio calva est"⁷¹.

— *Ramus alit pensione numerata, pueros; Rami sumptus; 12 bursarii Praellei; Praelleus gymnasiarchus.*

Quo porro tempore domesticos pueros pensione numerata alebat, credibile est ex eo certam pecuniae summam lucrari solitum. Sed postquam Talaeus ab eo discessit, hanc provinciam a se rejecit et abdicavit, studiorum quam rei familiaris procurandae amantior. Accessit postea foenus e pecunia in Parisiensem mercatorum oeconomiam trapezamve collata, ut patebit. //12^v Sumptus faciebat pene redditui aequales : nam praeter victum et vestitum, et gymnasii negotiorumque procurationem, litiumque sumptus, duodecim ex instituto prisci fundatoris Praellei gymnasii alebat pueros Suessionenses universos; quibus demum legendo scribendoque, et suis ipsius studiis juvandis sublevandisque uti solebat, pro sua cujusque ingenii indole captuque, administris. Quorum de coetu, qui natu maximus, quique primus lauream philosophicam erat adeptus, hic reliquis bursariis collegis optantibus legentibusque, in gymnasiarcham ex instituto ejusdem fundatoris erigebatur eligebaturque, suffragantibus Sacellano seu Capellano dicto et Procuratore domus. Quae me praerogativa manebat, quem et parvum Ramum futurum Ramus ipse jocando dictitabat, nisi uxore ducta, jam aliud vitae genus

⁽⁵⁶⁾ text *cardmeto*, ms *Cardinotto*, and see above n. (39).

⁷¹ A proverb, see *Disticha Catonis*, 2, 26.

unknown to ourselves and to others. He had a modest fortune, certainly less than ten thousand gold crowns; in this he was very different from Cicero, Seneca, Virgil and those fortunate people (not to speak of rich people, but to compare him with very talented people who receive honours and riches because of their gifts) who gain great reward by their fruitful spirit, by the generosity of emperors and the rich achievement of their art. His annual income from all sources was about six hundred gold crowns, or about two thousand pounds. From his salary as a Royal Professor he received under five hundred pounds each year; by letting out rooms in the college, and from external students he received about the same amount again. But when he taught at home with Talon, he collected every month about a hundred pounds. He received from the annual revenues of the college, partly from town properties and partly from fields and lands in the country, between six hundred and nine hundred pounds. He had besides a certain priory at Rennes in the diocese of Quercy, and the parish of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet in Paris, which he made over to Talon when he took holy orders. From the priory of Rennes he got a hundred crowns or more every year. He refused an abbey offered to him as a reward for his labours and good works by his Cardinal patron, perhaps because it was too small, and because he hoped for a fatter benefice on promises which King Henry had made him. But he was disillusioned and he realised the truth of the saying : "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush".

— *Ramus supports boys on a fixed cash "pension"; his expenses; the twelve bursary scholars of Presles; election of the principal of Presles.*

Moreover, at the time when he provided for boys at home on a fixed cash "pension", he must have made a certain sum of money from this. But when Talon left him he renounced and gave up this activity since he was more in love with study than with running a house. Later there came the interest from the money he had invested in the Parisian stock-exchange or bank, as will become clear. His expenditure was about the same as his income, for apart from his food and clothing, the expenses of the college, and administering his business interests, and the costs of his law-suits, he supported twelve boys, all of them from Soissons, according to the terms of the original founder of the Collège de Presles. He used to employ them principally as assistants to read and write for him, to lighten and help his own studies. The eldest, and the one who was the first to obtain the degree of philosophy, was elected and promoted to be the principal of the college by the choice and wish of the rest of

delegissem. Successit (58) autem honestus vir, et mei amantissimus atque observantissimus Cl. Serenus, meus discipulus charissimus.

— *Ramus domum in Praelleo construit; Rami foenus.*

Enimvero ex toto illo reditu (qui fuerat ab initio multo minor) quicquid per annos plures cumulare atque recondere Ramus potuit, uno anno in domus novae constructionem impendit, suo Praelleo largitus circiter bis millenorum summam aureorum. Cum diceret inter amicos velle se Augustum imitari, qui Romam lateritiam accepisse, marmoream relicturum gloriabatur ⁷², vidi tamen hominem facti posthac poenitere, et nummos sic expositos cupide desiderare, cum spes non esset quicquam in posterum ex eo foenoris accipiendi, aut recuperandi sumptus. Quicquid vero postea nummorum potuit congerere aut corrudere, id totum in aerarium publicum urbis contulit, in proventus annuos accepturus cum foenore, sicuti postea patebit ex testamento. Sed de his satis.

— *Rami coelibatus qualis; historia.*

Vitam coelebs Ramus traduxit omnem, quia Lutetiae gymnasiarchis uxorem ducere ex Academiae legibus interdicitur. Nescio tamen an tanta continentia coelibatum traduxerit, quantum quidam praedicant. Mihi quidem videtur etiam in eo genere aliquid humanum passus; nam et in vicinia unam aut alteram mulierculam invisebat saepicule, et quidem remotis arbitris, “postico fallebat[que] clientem” ⁷³. Audivi qui dicerent nothum genuisse; quem tamen agnoscere ⁽⁵⁷⁾ non potui, nec certum resciscere. Hoc scio, cum soli ambo pranderemus, (59) sermonem aliquando incessisse illi de nuptiis, quasi uxorem vellet ducere, ac me subjecisse, vereri ne illi idem contingeret, quod cuidam olim philosopho, opinor Thaleti; quem cum juniorem mater uxori tradere cuperet, negavit esse tempestivum; post longum autem tempus idem urgenti, respondit se jam seniore, quam ut iugo maritali aptus esset ferendo ⁷⁴. Subrisit ille, atque rei exitus veram meam conjecturam praedictionemque comprobavit.

(⁵⁷) text *agnoscere*, ms *gnoscerere*.

⁷² Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28.

⁷³ Horace, *Epistulae*, I, 5, 31.

⁷⁴ Diogenes Laertius, *Thales*, I, 26.

his fellow bursary scholars, with the votes also of the Sacristan or Chaplain as he was called and the Procurator of the house — all this according to the wishes of the founder. I myself acquired this prerogative, and Ramus used to say jokingly that I would become another little Ramus, unless I married and chose a different kind of life. In fact it was my beloved student, Cl. Serenus, who succeeded him, a very good friend of mine, an honest man and devoted to me.

— *Ramus builds a house in the Collège de Presles; the interest he received.*

In fact what Ramus managed to amass and save over many years from all this income (which was much smaller at the beginning), he spent in a single year in building a new house, giving to his Collège de Presles the sum of about two thousand gold crowns; for he used to say to his friends that he wanted to imitate Augustus, who boasted that he had received Rome made of brick, and would leave it made of marble. I saw him, however, live to regret this, and want to regain the money he had laid out, since he had no hope of ever in the future receiving any interest from it, or recovering what he had spent. Afterwards whatever money he was able to amass or save he placed in the public treasury of the city in order to receive an annual income with interest, as will later appear from his will. But that is enough on this topic.

— *The nature of Ramus's celibacy; an anecdote.*

Ramus remained a bachelor throughout his life, because University laws do not allow college principals in Paris to marry. I do not know, however, whether this chaste man ever betrayed his celibate calling, as some people claim; I do think, however, that he had some human feelings, even in this matter, for he quite often used to visit one little woman or another in the district, and that in private, "slipping out unnoticed by the back door". I have heard some people say that he had a bastard, but I could not find out who he was, nor be sure about it. I do know this, that when the two of us had lunch alone together, from time to time he would broach the subject of marriage, as though he wanted to marry, and I suggested that I was afraid that the same thing would happen to him as happened once to some philosopher, I think it was Thales — his mother wanted to hand him over to a wife when he was rather young, and he replied that it was too early, and when, after a long period of time she still insisted, he replied that he was now too old to submit himself to the marital yoke. Ramus smiled, and the outcome proved that my guess and forecast were correct.

— *Rami virtutes morales; Ramus adversarios non recriminatur; Ramus iracundus; jocus.*

Justitiam mihi praecipue colere visus est, quia nihil alienum, quod sciam, volens ac sciens detinuit. Temperantiam eam coluit in omni victus genere, qualem praedicavi. Liberalitas pro facultatum mediocritate fuit, parsimoniae vicinior quam prodigalitati. Prudentia summa in rerum suarum administratione usus fuisset, si fati impendentis ruinam calamitatemque declinare praevisam potuisset. //13^r Fortitudo animi maxima fuit in illo, ita ut Socratem provocare potuerit, praecipue in ferendis injuriis, et calumniis hostium [adversariorumque simultatibus] dissimulandis. Quibus, uti dixi, nullis unquam respondere sustinuit (nisi tandem uni Carpentario, habita in [illum] oratione in Senatu) patientia et taciturnitate vincens eorum proterviam atque petulantiam ⁷⁵. Domi tamen et inter suos fuit valde iracundus et plagosus, modo pugno, mode calce, modo verbere hunc et illum exagitans, ac seminecem flagris caesum interdum a se puerum amandans. Qua ratione et praeceptoribus et discipulis mirifice (60) pertimescendus videbatur. Ex quo illi quidam, de suis iratum hominem alloquentibus, vel alias semper eidem adstantibus cominus, hunc versiculum et vere et festive objecit: "Ora tui buxo pallidiora gerunt" ⁷⁶.

— *Ramus non jurat; historia: alia historia, ubi Rami fortitudo cernitur.*

In hoc tamen laudandus, quod licet iratissimus, tamen cautus ab omni jurejurando abstinebat, id a sua gravitate alienum judicans, ut Fabius ipse uspiam indicavit, ut interim lege Christiana vetitum noverat. Memini autem deprehensum olim ab eo armatum ganeonem, qui in scholam furens impetum faciebat, ab eodemque in aulam manu deductum; quem demum flagris totum lacerum, totumque cruentum, supplicem a se et quiritantem dimisit, qui paulo ante [sicarius] minax vim inferre conabatur. Alias quondam gymnasium obsederant armati plures tota Academia famosi gladiatores, ac nescio qui alii ejusdem farinae perditione nebulones ganeonesque. Ramus, quem ad necem poscebant, inermis prodit, hos alloquitur [placidus iratos, pacatus furentes,] frigidus ardentes, et loquendo demulcet, adductoque supercilio terret, hac usus potissima ratione. Neronem matricidam, ob interfectum Senecam praeceptorem

⁷⁵ Ramus, *Actiones duae habitae in Senatu, pro regia mathematicae professionis cathedra*, 1566, (Ong, 598), and see Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, pp. 500-504 for the whole controversy.

⁷⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4, 134-5.

— *Ramus's moral virtues; he does not reply to his opponents; he was given to anger; a joke.*

He seemed to me to cultivate especially the virtue of justice, never willingly and knowingly, as far as I can tell, keeping what belonged to someone else. He practised the degree of temperance in all matters of food and drink which I have already described. His generosity was in accordance with his modest means, on the side of thrift rather than of prodigality. One could say that he used the greatest prudence in the administration of his property, if only he had been able to foresee and avoid the disaster of the fate hanging over him. He had great courage, enough to rival that of Socrates, especially in putting up with insults, and in taking no notice of the calumnies and rivalries of his enemies and opponents. He never persisted in replying to any of them (except in the end to Charpentier, when he made a speech against him in parliament), overcoming their outrageous insolence by his patient silence. At home, on the other hand, among his own people, he was bad-tempered and brutal, attacking now one, now another with his fist, his foot, or a stick, sometimes sending a boy away from him after flogging him within an inch of his life. Consequently he was held in terror by teachers and pupils alike, and somebody, referring to a group of friends who were talking to him when he was angry, or otherwise in constant contact with him, quoted at him the following verse, jokingly and yet truthfully "your face is paler than box-wood".

— *Ramus did not swear; an anecdote; another anecdote showing his courage.*

He is to be praised for the fact that even when he was at his angriest he carefully refrained from all swearing, considering it foreign to his dignity as Quintilian himself said somewhere, and as he knew had been forbidden by the Christian dispensation. I remember that he once caught an armed ruffian who had broken into the college by force; he led him into the hall, flogged him soundly until he was torn and bleeding, and threw him out begging and whining for mercy, though shortly before he had been brandishing his dagger and trying to use force himself. On another occasion, several bandits, with a reputation throughout the university, armed with swords, laid siege to the college in the company of all sorts of other similar debauched hooligans and ruffians. They were demanding Ramus's blood, but he walked out unarmed, and calmly addressed these enraged young men, peacefully and coolly

non minore dignum odio habitum apud posteros, quam ob caesam matrem fuisse. Argumentum magnae fortitudinis et audaciae, tot armatis furentibus adolescentibus sese unum inermem objicere, quem confodere gladio, [vel sica, vel pugione,] aut globo plumbeo adigere, fuerat (61) impunitati proximum, et vindictam poscenti facillimum. Dicam de caeteris animi virtutibus et pauca et breviter.

— *De Rami ingenio, et principalibus animi partibus, iudicio, memoria, et aliis; oratoriae Rami virtutes; Ramus male scribit; Rami inconstantia et mutabilitas.*

Inventionis acumen in eo desiderari poterat, cum fere nonnisi inventis uteretur, quae mox exornando perpoliret; mihiq[ue] ut idem facerem, [author erat,] saepe[que] suadebat. Iudicium fuit illi longe acerrimum. Perceptio tardior ad discendum. Memoria non ita tenax, quam tamen methodo et notis multum adjuvabat; fuit enim vel omnium hominum in eloquendo disponendoque accuratissimus. Ratiocinatio perquam exquisita, minus tamen acuta aut arguta. Pronuntiatio et actio reliquas in eo virtutes adumbrabant [et obscurabant]. Pessime pingebat, ut quae scripserat, vix a quoquam divinando legi possent, nisi ab assuetis. Novarum rerum cupidior fuit, ingenio versatili, irrequieto, et plane mutabili, ut idem modo probaret, modo improbaret, suaeque scripta miris versaret modis, et fere quotannis [interpolaret atque] immutaret. Unde ab adversariis Horatianum illud frequenter objectum audivit, “Diruis, aedificas, mutas quadrata rotundis” ⁷⁷. A me autem saepe admonitus, cum praecepta artium subinde mutaret, et diversis verbis traderet, non esse puerorum ingenia, quasi chartas ⁽⁵⁸⁾ aut tabulas, ut subinde adlini vel denuo appingi novisque coloribus induci pro arbitrio queant, //13^v [vel in spongiam incumbere], sed potius ab eodem Horatio recte dictum fuisse, “Quo semel est imbuta recens” ⁷⁸.

— (62) *Ramus apophthegmatum et scommatum negligens; Rami symbolon sive tessera.*

Ejus apophthegmata aut sententias, vel sales et dicteria non referam,

⁽⁵⁸⁾ The phrase *non esse puerorum ingenia quasi* is incomprehensibly omitted from the text, and is here supplied from the ms.

⁷⁷ Horace, *Epistulae*, I, 1, 100.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 1, 69.

appealing to these passionately furious people, calming them down by his words, terrifying them merely by frowning at them, and using the following excellent argument. Nero, the matricide, was hated by succeeding generations just as much for killing his teacher Seneca as for killing his mother, — an argument of great courage and daring for one unarmed man to put before so many furious armed youths, since it would have been the easiest thing in the world, and accomplished almost with impunity, for someone seeking revenge to have run him through with sword, knife or dagger, or fired a shot at him. I shall now say a few brief words about his other qualities.

- *On Ramus's character and principal qualities, his judgement, memory and the rest; his rhetorical powers; Ramus wrote badly; his inconstancy and changeableness.*

He was perhaps lacking in imagination, since he rarely did anything but make use of other peoples' ideas, polishing them up and embellishing them, and he often advised and persuaded me to do the same. His powers of judgement were of the keenest. He was rather slow at learning. His memory was not very good, but he improved it by his method and the notes he made, for he was the most exact of men in speaking and in arranging his material. His powers of reasoning were very well-developed, yet lacking in acuteness and subtlety. His pronunciation and his delivery eclipsed and obscured his other virtues. His handwriting was very bad and what he had written could scarcely be deciphered by anyone except those who were accustomed to it. He had a hankering after novelty; his was a versatile, restless and utterly changeable character : at one moment he would approve of something, at the next reject it; he revised his works remarkably often, inserting passages and altering others almost every year. He was therefore often to hear his opponents tax him with Horace's saying "you destroy, build up again and make square things round". I often warned him when he kept altering his way of teaching a subject, and offered it again in different words, that boys' minds are not like pieces of paper or blackboards which can be bedaubed or painted afresh and spread over at will with new colours, and then erased. Rather was the same Horace right when he said "a pot will keep for a long time the perfume it is once saturated with".

- *Ramus was not partial to aphorisms or sarcastic remarks : his device or motto*

I shall not report his aphorisms, sayings, witticisms or *bons mots*,

quibus neque peculiari studio, vel opere affectato magnopere incubuit; contraquam de uno Cicerone [(cujus ob id vitam Tiro tribus voluminibus scripsisse dicitur)] ⁷⁹ referunt, plane quidem in hac solertia dissimili. [Semper enim gravia Ramus et seria meditabatur citra jocosum.] Symbolon illi et familiare elogium fuit Virgilianum illud, eodem hemistichio sic ab illo usurpari solitum, "Labor improbus omnia vincit" ⁸⁰. Quod ipse sua manu adscripsit emblematis uni de multis, quae Germani quidam ei porrexerant, ut hoc *μνημόσυνον* manu scriptum a viro magnifico cum paucis aliis virorum illustrium in patriam reportarent.

— *Ramus in publico disertus, in colloquio familiari infans, et elinguis, cum exteris Latine dicturus.*

Haec autem occasio me movit [ac monuit] ut dicerem Ramum, oratorem tantum, tam disertum hominem ut coetus hominum attentos dicendo teneret, tamen in colloquio familiari, cum hominibus exteris fuisse sui longe dissimilem; ut aegre, et pauca et communia trivialiaque vix eloqueretur, imo ne eloqueretur quidem, sed magno nisu ac molimine vix tandem pectore anhelante expromeret. [Quod Gallis adeo perdoctis usuvenit, minime assuetis in quotidiano congressu latino sermone uti.]

— *De Rami virtutibus Theologalibus; ἀποσιώπησις; (⁵⁹) hominum diversa judicia de Rami religione et fide; Carpentarius init poenas convitii in Ramum; Ramus a suis dictus philosophus et martyr; religio mutat hominum judicia; N. nudam scribit historiam.*

De Rami fide, spe, charitate vix audeo proloqui, quod hae theologiae virtutes ad religionem attineant, in qua perdifficile est utrique parti satisfacere. Ideo cuique aestimandum pro arbitrio relinquo. Scio tamen ante annos complures fuisse illum haereseos suspectum (63) [(Lutheranismum vocabant)], jure nescio an injuria. [Sed] et hoc scio, e schola Praellea permultos exiisse viros quidem doctissimos, eosdemque religionem deinceps habitam et dictam reformatam professos. Ac simul memini Jacobo Carpentario, gravissimo Rami adversario, licet populari, et Picardo, Claromontensi, olim excidisse ut illum publice Theodorum aut Diagoram vocaret ⁸¹. Quod tamen ille non tulit impune, conjectus

(⁵⁹) ms adds ἀποσιώπησις.

⁷⁹ Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae*, 6, 3, 5.

⁸⁰ Virgil, *Georgica*, 1, 145-6; cf. n. 37.

⁸¹ Cicero, *De natura Deorum*, 1, 1.

to which he devoted neither a great degree of special study, nor a striving for effect : this is the opposite of what they say about Cicero (and that is why Tiro is said to have written his three-volume life of him) who was clearly very different from him in this matter of wittiness. For Ramus's meditations were always serious and weighty, and a long way from joking. His special device and private motto was that phrase of Virgil's : "Hard work overcomes all obstacles", a half-line which he often made use of. He added it in his own hand to one emblem among many which some Germans presented to him in order to procure an autograph souvenir of this famous man, and other celebrities, when they returned to their own country.

— *Ramus eloquent in public, tongue-tied and speechless in private conversation when he had to talk in Latin to strangers.*

This reminds me and moves me to say that although Ramus was such a great orator, and such an eloquent man that he could hold spell-bound whole gatherings of men, yet in private conversation with strangers he was very unlike himself, with difficulty mumbling a few trivialities and commonplaces, or not even uttering them at all, but rather finally gasping and forcing them out with much effort. This is something which does happen to learned Frenchmen who are unaccustomed to using Latin in everyday conversation.

— *On Ramus's theological virtues; an aposiopesis; different opinions of men about his religion and faith; Charpentier punished for insulting Ramus; Ramus called philosopher and martyr by his followers; religion alters men's judgements; Nancel is writing unadorned history.*

I hesitate to pronounce on Ramus's faith, hope and charity, because these theological virtues are concerned with religion, in which it is very difficult to satisfy both sides. Therefore I leave the matter to each one's own judgement. I do know, however, that not many years ago he was suspected of heresy, that is of Lutheranism, but I am not sure whether rightly or wrongly. I know this too that very many men of learning went out from the Collège de Presles, and later professed the religion known as the reformed religion. I remember also that Jacques Charpentier, a weighty opponent of Ramus, in spite of being his fellow-countryman, a Picard, from Clermont-en-Beauvaisois, once went so far as to call him publicly a Theodorus or Diagoras. But he did not get away with it for he was thrown into prison and made to sing a recantation. On the other

in carcerem, et palinodiam coactus occinere. Aliis ex adverso P. Ramus novo quodam encomio et elogio singulari celebratur, nempe ut philosophus et martyr, Justino illi prisco Theologo iisdem titulis succenturiatus, quos nulla aetas (quod sciam) ulli hominum abhinc detulit aut communicavit. Ita sunt diversa hominum judicia, atque ob religionis studia discrepantes mirum in modum sententiae. Ipsi viderint. Nam quod de homine pernovi, quod didici, per annos complures cum eodem versatus, illud ad posteritatem nuda et simplici oratione trado; habeat quisque quo loco volet, et dicat album atrumve, nihil moror, nihil obsto. "Obsto? hem desino", ut ait Comicus ⁸².

— *De Rami amicis et inimicis; Germani in Galliam veniunt solius Rami [et Turnebi] videndi studio; sic Romam solius Livii fama externos olim pertraxit.*

Multos vero Ramus habuit amicos, multos inimicos, [plures aemulos,] atque adeo in utroque genere, vel qui nunquam hominem viderant, ut M. Tullius de vi virtutis extulit ⁸³. Scio enim vidisse me Germanos, qui mihi jurarint, unius Rami videndi et alloquendi caussa in Galliam venisse, et deinde Turnebi, quale (64) quidem D. Hieronymus de Tito Livio Romano historico ad Paulinum scribit: Ad Titum Livium (inquiens) lacteo eloquentiae fonte manantem, de ultimis Hispaniae Galliarumque finibus quosdam venisse nobiles legimus, et quos ⁽⁶⁰⁾ ad contemplationem sui Roma (vel Gallia) non traxerat, unius hominis fama perduxit ⁸⁴.

— *Ramus quibus nationibus expetitus; historia; Ramus a Bononiensibus invitatur professor mille ducatorum stipendio; Cardinalis Lotharingi de Ramo sententia propter religionem.*

Ramum Italia expetivit, amplissimoque stipendio (ut ex literis ego cognovi) ad Bononiensium Academiam invitavit; Ramum Polonia, Ramum Germania, propositis muneribus et honoribus [et salariis] magnificis invitavit, //14^r neque tamen e suo regno Praelleo (ita enim vocitare solebat) unquam potuit abducere. Sic autem olim nobis narrabat: Cum a Bononiensibus, literis per veredarios missis (quas ego legi frequenter) et nuntiis expressis, magna praemii pollicitatione vocaretur et expeteretur, Cardinalem suum Mecoenatem olim Rami amantis-

(⁶⁰) text quos, ms quod.

⁸² Terence, *Adelphi*, 1, 2, 137.

hand, some people honour Ramus with a new and singular title of praise, namely "philosopher and martyr", making him succeed to the title of the ancient theologian Justin, which, as far as I know, no age since has granted to any man. Men's judgements are very diverse, and in the study of religion opinions are remarkably different. That is their affair; I, for my part, am handing on to posterity in a simple straightforward account, the certain facts I know about the man, and what I learned during the many years I spent in his company. Let each man go his own way, it makes no difference to me, and I make no objection. "If I object ... well, I stop there", as the comic poet says.

— *On Ramus's friends and enemies; some Germans come to France for the sole purpose of visiting Ramus and Turnèbe, just as Livy's reputation alone brought foreigners to Rome.*

Ramus had many friends, and many enemies and even more rivals, and many of each of these who had perhaps never seen the man, as Cicero says about the power of virtue. I remember seeing some Germans who assured me that they had come to France with the sole purpose of seeing Ramus and talking to him, and also to Turnèbe, just as St. Jerome, writing to Paulinus about the Roman historian Livy, said : "We read that some noblemen came from the furthest parts of Spain and Gaul to Livy, a living fountain of the milk of eloquence; and one man's reputation has brought men whom Rome itself (or France) could no attract as visitors".

— *The countries which sought Ramus; an anecdote; Ramus is invited by the people of Bologna at a salary of one thousand ducats; the Cardinal of Lorraine's statement about Ramus and religion.*

Italy invited Ramus to come, offering him a chair at the University of Bologna at a very generous salary (as I know from the letter they sent). Poland invited Ramus, Germany invited Ramus, offering gifts, honours and a very high salary, but they could never tear him away from his kingdom of Presles (for this is what he used to call it). Once he told us this story : when he was sought after and invited by means of letters and by messages sent by courriers (which I have read many times), by the people of Bologna, who promised great reward, he went to see his Cardinal patron, who had once been his very great friend, and to whom

⁸³ Cicero, *Laelius*, 8, 28.

⁸⁴ Jerome, *Epistulae*, 53, (Ad Paulinum).

simum (huic enim omnia sua opera vivo vivus nuncupavit) adiisse, literas communicasse, consilium veniamque obeundi rogasse. "Vade" (inquit ille paucis omnino verbis), "magna quidem cura et molestia atque formidine Galliam liberaturus; sed Italiam totam tuo adventu tuaque doctrina plurimum perturbaturus. Ac forsitan non sine tuo gravi discrimine, nisi 'Cum coelo mutes animum, qui trans mare curris'." ⁸⁵ (65) Quod Cardinalis ob id dicebat, quia Ramum sciebat novam religionem amplexum, a qua ille plurimum abhorrebat, καὶ δις διὰ πασῶν dissentiebat discordabatque ⁸⁶.

— *Rami amici; Ramo cum poetis male convenit; poetae etiam mordent Ramum.*

Coluit vero (inquam) in primis amicos Aud. Talaeum, Barth. Alexandrum laboris socios, Quintinum Heduum, [D.] canonistam, Orontium Finaeum, Jo. Magnienum, Mathematicos, Simonem Petreium, et Jac. Hollerium, et Nic. Cartonium, et Rassios, medicos ⁽⁶¹⁾, D. Furnerium et Jo. Sabellum Theologos, Pasquerium, Bergeronium, [Amaritonem,] ⁽⁶²⁾ Loyselium, J. C., Jo. Vahunum ⁽⁶³⁾, Michaeli didascalum, Jo. Paenam, Fridericum Reisnerum etiam Mathematicos, Ossatum, Brietum, Martinum, Poetevinum, Gualterum, artium humaniorum et politioris literaturae peritos, atque alios sane permultos tum in urbe, tum in patria, tum apud exterarum nationes (de exteris cognoscere ex prooemio mathematico) et morum candore et ingenii dexteritate et artium gloria claros. Cum poetis raro versatus est, quasi dispar studium sequentibus. Omnes tamen Lutetiae celeberrimos habitos aliquando ad prandium invitavit, coryphaeo Ronsardo velut Apolline praecedente. Sed postea nunquam : e quibus etiam unus perdoctus Bellaius Ramum scommate diro perstrinxit, Rabelaisium pari sarcasmo insultantem imitatus ⁸⁷.

— *Rami inimici; Ramus ob decanatum invisus multis.*

Nam ut amicos bene multos, eosque perinsignes viros habuit, sic adversarios non minus illustres et doctrina et (66) ordine conspicuos. Unus P. Gallandius signum extulit, et multos in Ramum hostes sus-

⁽⁶¹⁾ ms puts *medicos* after *Hollerium* instead of after *Rassios*.

⁽⁶²⁾ text *Amaritonem*, ms adds it in margin.

⁽⁶³⁾ text *Dahunum*, ms *Vahunum*.

⁸⁵ Horace, *Epistulae*, 1, 11, 27.

⁸⁶ Almost proverbial, though perhaps the source is to be found in Plutarch, *Moralia*, 2, 1019b; see also Turnèbe, *Adversariorum*, 19, 30.

he dedicated all his works during his life-time; he showed him the letter and asked him for his advice and for leave to go. "Go", he said, as abruptly as that, "and you will free France from great worry, trouble and fear; you will also utterly perturb the whole of Italy by going there and teaching, and perhaps bring great danger on yourself, unless 'you change your mind as well as your climate when you go across the sea.' "

The Cardinal said this because he knew that Ramus had embraced the new religion, which he himself held in horror, and to which he was diametrically opposed.

— *Ramus's friends; he did not get on with poets, who in fact attacked him.*

The principal friends, I say, whom he frequented were : Omer Talon, and Barthélemy Alexandre, his colleagues, Quintin of Autun, the canon-lawyer, Oronce Fine, Jean Magny, mathematicians, Simon Piètre, Jacques Hollier, Nicolas Charton and the Rasse brothers who were doctors, Furnerius and Jean Sabel, theologians, Pasquier, Bergeron, Amariton, Loisel, lawyers, Jean Vahun, Michael's teacher, Jean Péna, Frideric Reisner, also mathematicians, d'Ossat, Briet, Martin, Poëtevin, Gautier, all skilled in the humane arts and literature; there were certainly many others both in the city, in the whole country, and in foreign countries, (you can find out about his foreign friends from the *Introduction to Mathematics*), who were distinguished by the purity of their morals, their brilliant genius and their academic reputation. He rarely associated with poets, as though they did not have common interests. However, he did at one time invite to lunch all the most famous poets in Paris, with Ronsard at their head, presiding like Apollo. But never again. One of them, Du Bellay, even made a bitter taunting attack on Ramus, imitating Rabelais who insulted him with similarly sarcastic comments.

— *Ramus's enemies; he is in bad odour with many people because of the deanship.*

For just as he had very many friends who were most distinguished, so he had many opponents no less illustrious by their learning and their rank. Pierre Galland was the one to raise up the standard, and to incite many people to attack him, in the first place his close colleagues, Turnèbe, Charpentier, Du Chesne, Vicomercato, and others who conspired

⁸⁷ Du Bellay, *Pétromachie* (ed. Chamard, vol. 5, pp. 236-51); Rabelais, Prologue to *Pantagruel*, Book 4.

citavit, in primis domesticos sibi et contubernales, Turnebum, Carpentarium, [Quercum,] Vicomercatum, et alios secum conspirantes in Rami perniciem, in odiumque plus quam Vatinianum, ut Goveanum, Perionium, Muretum, et alios nonnullos, qui variis orationibus vel potius invectivis Ramum perstrinxerunt atrocissime, et criminibus acerrimis convitiisque plus quam muliebribus aut Comicis appetiverunt; nulla in totum ⁽⁶⁴⁾ ab illo dignati responsione, nisi novissimis temporibus Carpentarius, ut praedixi, deinde Scheckius Germanus philosophus, ad quem extat Rami epistola stomachi argumentum cum moderatione quadam aperiens ⁸⁸. Similiter ad T.B.V. ⁽⁶⁵⁾, quem Theodorum Bezam Vezelium interpretor ⁸⁹. Multos idem porro inimicos nuper sibi conflaverat, cum in ordine regiorum professorum velut antiquissimus gradum et honorem Decani ambiret, ac caeteris praeesse praeireque (ut erat laudis avidissimus) averet, et tanquam regnare inter caeteros conaretur.

— *Ramus reconciliatus amicis; historia mira; Castellani manes alloquantur Ramum, sive potius genius; eventus mirabilis.*

Sed tamen quod notandum in primis existimo, cum adversariorum et inimicorum unoquoque rediit tandem in gratiam (perpaucis exceptis) et ἀμνησίαν exercuit. Nam et ego saepe ad istos prope singulos missus sum benevolae salutationis nuntius; et Gallandius et Turnebus, uterque paulo ante mortem, (67) Ramo reconciliatus, factus est plane familiaris. //14^v Sed quod narraturus sum, cupio ut attentus Lector expendat ac dijudicet. Vera dicam, nequis a me confingi suspicetur. Deum testem appello, rem gestam narrabo, ut memini contigisse ante annos circiter 36 ⁽⁶⁶⁾. Unus inter Rami adversarios autoritate et gratia pollebat D. Castellanus, Episcopus (credo) Matisconensis, Regis Henrici confessor et eleemosynarius; qui a Gallandio inductus, Ramo saepe procuraverat exilium, [atque adeo exitium,] vel eo potissimum nomine, quod Divum Aristotelem scilicet animadversionibus audaculis vellicasset. Is ut est factus morti proximus, procul ab urbe Lutetia in aula regia absens, eodem ipso quo et obiit die, haud scio an hora eadem, sane quarta aut quinta matutina hyemali, dum Ramus ad lucernam lucubraret, his iisdem neque pluribus verbis affatus est: "Vale Rame, Rame vale." Ramus miratus quid hoc esset ominis quidve portenti, me evocat, qui in musaeolo

⁽⁶⁴⁾ text *totum*, ms *toto*.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ text *T.B.V.*, ms *T.V.V.*

⁽⁶⁶⁾ text 36, ms 30.

with him to destroy Ramus, with a hatred worse than that of Vatinius, such as Gouveia, Périon, Muret and many others who attacked Ramus severely in various speeches or rather diatribes, and pursued him with serious charges and insults worse than those of women or of the comic writers. They were not considered worthy of a reply on his part, except in later times for Charpentier, as I said before, and the German philosopher Schegk to whom there is a published letter revealing evidence of his annoyance with a degree of control. There is a similar one to T.B.V. whom I identify as Théodore de Bèze of Vézelay. Moreover, he later made many enemies for himself when he coveted the honourable position of Dean as the most senior in rank among the Royal Professors, and wanted to preside and have precedence over the rest, since he was so greedy for praise, and attempted to rule as it were over the rest of them.

— *Ramus reconciled with his enemies; a remarkable anecdote: the shade or rather the genius of Du Châtel speaks to Ramus; a remarkable event.*

But I think it should be stressed that in the end he became reconciled with each one of his opponents and enemies, with a few exceptions, and forgot his disagreements with them. I myself was often sent to almost every one of them as a bearer of good wishes: both Galland and Turnèbe, each one a short time before his death, were reconciled to Ramus, and became his friends. I want the reader to ponder carefully and decide for himself about what I am now going to say; it is perfectly true; in case anyone should think that I made it up, I call God to be my witness that I shall narrate it as I remember it happening about thirty-six years ago. Among the opponents of Ramus, there was one powerful and influential man, Pierre Du Châtel, Bishop (I think) of Mâcon, confessor and almoner to King Henry. He was led on by Galland, and often proposed exile for Ramus and even death, on the grounds that he had mocked the Divine Aristotle, namely in his rather daring *Remarks on Aristotle*. He himself was near to death and was present at the court, far from the city of Paris, and on the very day he died, though I am not sure whether it was at the same hour, but certainly at four or five o'clock on a winter's morning, while Ramus was working by the light of his lamp, he addressed

⁸⁸ *P. Rami et Jacobi Schecii epistolae*, 1569, (Ong, 620), and see pp. 374-80.

⁸⁹ See Ramus and Talon *Collectaneae praefationes, epistolae, orationes*, Paris, 1577, pp. 249-52.

vicino studebam. Jubet totum cubiculum, quod undique clausum erat, excutere et perquirere, ac praevio lumine lustrare. Nullus plane deprehenditur ⁽⁶⁷⁾. Exeo de cubiculo et aulam perscrutor; nemo comparet. Adeo scholae janitorem, numquis hoc die inquilinus aut exterus accesserit. Nondum valvae aut fores patuerant eo die cuiquam. Ad Ramum attonitum et trepidum redeo. Assero neminem uspiam inventum, sed neque scholam adhuc ⁽⁶⁸⁾ ingressum fuisse quempiam. Jubet Talaeum accersiri. Huic me adstante exponit, quid acciderit. Ipse addit de suo, videri sibi Castellani vocem percepisse, suspicari hoc esse spectrum vel manes illius, velut hac ⁽⁶⁹⁾ salutatione seu valedictione simultatem dirimentis. Talaeus bono jubet animo illum esse, hallucinatum forte susurro aurium aut falsa imaginatione. Ramus pernegare; nam et vigilantibus et attento vocem indubitanter sibi perceptam. Fit crepera lux, Talaeus abscedit, Ramus fit sedatior atque securior. Ecce autem vix triduum intercessit, et nuntius certissimus de morte Castellani Episcopi adfertur, eodem illo dicto die de nocte mortui. Quid dicet Theologus? Quomodo facti rationem modumque explicabit? [Similia utique reponet lecta sibi in vita patrum, SS. Martini, Antonii, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Augustini, et aliorum.] ⁹⁰

— *Ramus pacis et tranquillitatis amans; Ramus invitat omnes [Christianos] ad concordiam; Christiani in quo convenient, aut dissentiant inter se, Ramo iudice; ⁽⁶⁹⁾ unio inter Christianos commendatur; dissensiones in primitiva ecclesia; damna communia dissensionis de coena Domini; oratio pro reconciliatione Christianorum.*

⁽⁶⁷⁾ text *deprehenditur*, ms *reprehenditur*.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ text *hac*, ms *ac*.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ text *Ramo iudice*, ms *ex Ramo*.

⁹⁰ A similarly curious incident is related by Pierre Galland in his life of Du Châtel :

Mortuus est III. Non. Febr. per noctem, hora secunda. Quo tempore quid per somnium mihi acciderit, non alienum hoc loco commemorare videtur. Pompae funebris maximae species, in qua etiam equi atrati longo ordine deducerentur, qualis in Principum exequiis visitur, mihi observari visa est; in quam mihi quoque cum properandum esset, in Marillacum Episcopum Vannensem Legatum apud Caesarem regium incidere visus sum. Quem cum salutassem, rogassemque eccuinam ista funebris iusta pararentur, respondissetque ille sibi nondum constare, statim ubi Rex advenisset intellectum iri, ecce quod nobis valde novum et insolens fuit, sese Castellanus offert habitu admodum et vestitu insolenti, pileo parte sui dimidia posteriore dimissa, veste nigra, sed lymbis purpureis circumdata, parum ultra poplites suras attingente, digitis annulos gemmis distinctos, et sicam deaurato manubrio e zona in genua dependentem gestans;

Ramus in these few words, and no more : "Farewell, Ramus, Ramus farewell". Ramus wondered what this was an omen of, what it portended, and called me as I was working in the small neighbouring study. He told me to search carefully the whole room, which was completely closed up, and to go through it with a lamp and inspect it. I found no one at all there. I went out of the room and examined the hall. No one appeared. I went to the college porter and asked him whether any lodger or stranger had come in that day. The doors and gates had not yet been opened to anyone. I returned to Ramus who was frightened and alarmed. I told him I had found nobody anywhere, and that no one at all had yet come into the college. He told me to go and call Talon. In my presence he explained to him what had happened, adding of his own accord that he thought he had heard the voice of Du Châtel, and suspected it was his shade or ghost which was wiping out their disagreement by this greeting or rather leave-taking. Talon told him not to worry, and that it had perhaps been an hallucination caused by a buzzing in his ear or some deceptive fancy. Ramus denied this, claiming that he had certainly heard the voice while he was wide awake and attentive. It was beginning to get light when Talon went away, and Ramus calmed down and became reassured. Then scarcely three days later certain news came of the death of Bishop Du Châtel, who had died during the night on the date in question. What would a theologian have to say about it? What reason would he give for this fact and how would he describe it? He would surely reply that he had read similar things in the lives of the fathers, St. Martin, St. Anthony, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and others.

— *Ramus a lover of peace and tranquillity; he invites all Christians to concord; Ramus's opinion about agreement and disagreement among Christians; Christian unity is recommended; dissensions in the primitive church; general harm caused by dissension about the Lord's Supper; a prayer for the reconciliation of Christians.*

ad quem novo spectaculo excitati cum adissemus, rogassemusque ecquid hic ornatus insolens sibi vellet, arridens ille sicam e vagina eduxit, et pectori meo cuspidem intentans, cum retrocedentem, ut ictum declinarem, videret, subridens, non esse cur metuerem aut valde commoverer, admonuit, cum haec sica non altum vulnus mihi inflicturna esset. Quo viso ita sum exterritus ut lectulo exiliens, priusquam tria spatia in cubiculo confecissem, quod vidissem somnium esse mihi persuadere non potuerim.

(*Petri Castellani Magni Franciae Eleemosynarii Vita*, Auctore Petro Gallandio, edidit Stephanus Baluzius, Paris, 1674, p. 139, lxxx). Baluze notes that this refers to 1552, and not 1551 as some suggest.

Sed antequam de Rami fine miserabili, et ultimo fabulae seu tragoediae actu vitae hujus disseram, hoc praemonebo : fuisse hominem pacis et quietis amantissimum, belli et seditionis inimicissimum; quod cum universa ejus vita tranquilla et pacifica docuit, tum haec ejusdem vox paucis ante mortem diebus edita demonstravit :

Supplicibus et positis animis Deum omnes obtestemur, ut suorum misereatur. Satanam discordiae inter Christianos satorem procul abigat, omniumque mentes per sanctum Spiritum illuminet et reconciliet inter se, ut omnes una voce, uno (69) ore, una anima, Creatoris sui gloriam praedicent ac celebrent. Christiani omnes Dei testamentum idem et commune, omnes testamenti historiam eandem et communem complectuntur, et in toto eucharistiae fine et fructu conveniunt, in fruendi circumstantia tantum dissident. Fructum enim passionis Christi in sacra coena fidelibus communicari, eaque communicatione aeternam salutem piis animis parari omnes confitentur; alii quidem fide et spiritu, alii autem ad ipsum fructum passionis Christi, fide et spiritu communicandum, etiam Christum corporaliter exhiberi opinantur. Redeatur ad Apostolorum saeculum : coena sic administretur, ut ab illis administrata est, dissidii causa nulla supererit. Tempora religionis illa vere aurea fuerunt, nostra autem vix ferrea dicere possumus. Denique ut Paulus, Ephes. 4, "Supportemus invicem in charitate, solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis."//15^r Unum corpus, et unus spiritus : sicut vocati estis in una spe vocationis vestrae. Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma; unus Deus et pater omnium, qui super omnes, et per omnia, et in omnibus nobis. Unicuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi." Dissenserunt olim inter se de baptismo beati martyres Cornelius et Cyprianus. Dissenserunt etiam sancti doctores Hieronymus et Augustinus. Sed in ista sententiarum atque opinionum dissensione, animorum (70) consensio, mutuaeque charitatis affectio servata est. Dissensio autem ista de coena Domini, quae a pacatis iudicibus facile dijudicari potuit, quae bella civilia, quas ruinas civitatum, quas strages provinciarum hactenus excitavit? Quamobrem consensionis author et concordiae moderator Deus invocandus et obsecrandus est ut hominum ecclesiae suae praefectorum mentes illuminet ad verum perspicendum, ad animorum pacem publice privatimque Christiano populo conciliandum; pertinaciam et pervicaciam prorsus adimat; unum pietatis et veritatis studium amoremque in animis accendat.⁹¹

Haec fere et his plura, ad mutuam inter Christianos concordiam integrandam orator exorabat, si persuadere, quam suadere tam facile potuisset.

— *Occasio acerrimi in Ramum odii; Ramus Catholicus vixit; Ramus cur (70) ad novam religionem translatus.*

(70) text *cur*, ms *vir*.

⁹¹ Ramus, *Commentariorum de religione Christiana libri quatuor*, 1576, (Ong. 637) chapter 19. Nancel says rightly that his quotation of Ramus is neither exact nor complete ("Haec fere et his plura"), and there are indeed many passages omitted.

But before I discuss Ramus's miserable death, and the last act of the story or tragedy of his life, I must remind you that he was a man who had a deep love of peace and rest, and was a confirmed enemy of war and dissension as his whole tranquil and peaceful life has shown, and as this statement he made a few days before his death will prove :

We all beseech God with suppliant and obedient hearts, to have mercy on his people, to drive far away Satan who spreads discord among Christians, to enlighten the minds of all men through the Holy Spirit, and reconcile them among themselves so that with one voice, one tongue, one mind, all will announce and celebrate the glory of their Creator. All Christians accept one and the same testament of God, and the same common history of this testament and agree entirely about the end and fruit of the Eucharist, disagreeing only about the way in which they should be gained. For all profess that the fruit of Christ's passion is communicated to the faithful in the holy Supper, and by that communication eternal salvation is made available to pious minds, some saying that this is brought about by faith in a spiritual way, others being of the opinion that it is in order to communicate that same fruit of Christ's passion by faith in a spiritual way, that Christ is bodily present. Let us return to the age of the apostles; let the Supper be administered as they administered it and there will be no cause for dissension. That was truly a golden age of religion, and we can scarcely call our own an age of iron. Finally, as St. Paul says in Ephesians, chapter 4, "Let us support one another in charity, careful to preserve unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace. One body and one spirit, as you have been called in one hope of your vocation. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all men, who is above all men, through all things and in all of us. To each one of us is given grace according to the measure of God's giving". The blessed martyrs, Cornelius and Cyprian once disagreed between themselves about baptism; the holy doctors Jerome and Augustine also disagreed, but in this difference of views and opinions they managed to preserve mutual understanding and charitable feelings. But as to this disagreement about the Lord's Supper which could easily have been decided by peace-loving judges, what ruin of cities, what devastation of provinces has it not already brought about? Therefore God, the author of agreement, and the moderator of concord should be invoked and beseeched, to enlighten the minds of the men who rule his church, so that they will perceive the truth and bring a peaceful settlement to the Christian people both in public and in private; to remove completely stubbornness and obstinacy, and enkindle in our hearts nothing but the desire and love for piety and truth.

This and more besides the orator prayed for in order to establish mutual agreement among Christians, and would have achieved his aim if only persuasion were as easy as advice.

— *The occasion of the very bitter hatred of Ramus; his life as a Catholic; the reason for his conversion to the new religion.*

Enimvero dicturus de ultimo Rami fato et exitu miserando, hinc exordiar. Cum is per totam vitam hactenus religionem catholicam et quam vocant Romanam foret professus, imo et Pauli instar, persecutus eos esset, qui missae et sacris irreverenter aut irreligiose interessent, tandem obortis in Gallia propter religionem calamitosissimis ac perniciosissimis istis tumultibus, vel quod se aliter vitam Lutetiae salvam tueri posse desperaret, tot hostium adversariorumque telis et insidiis expositus [et expetitus] (hominem enim palam interficere ea tempestate impune erat), vel quod celatam adhuc et nemini exploratam apertamque religionis reformatae ideam (71) animo [conceptam] haberet, semel atque iterum tertioque urbe excedere et fuga salutem quaerere coactus est. Qui cum antea latere utcumque potuisset, tum hac occasione maxime infamatus, et populo invisus fuit Parisiensi.

— *Ramus habetur Lutetiae iconomachus; imagines Praellei collegii franguntur; Ramus Lutetiae invisus, aperte religionem novam profitetur; N. cum Ramo ultima communio.*

Legebat domi Euclidem et mathesin; locum auditioni commodissimum et semotum ab omni turba tumultuque vidit sacellum Praelleum; eo cum suis discipulis convolat. Quos inter cum plerique essent et sacra Romana et imagines perosi, apud Ramum egerunt, ut imagines altari circumpositas deturbaret. Paret ultro monentibus; jubet vetustas carieque obsitas imagines ligneas lapideasque deponi et subter aras occultari. Quaedam ut loco moveri coeperunt, sponte dilapsae corruunt et in frustra minuta sparguntur. Aliae vegrandes et onerosae, dum a pueris imprudentibus et inconsultis, vel etiam malitiosis reique exitum minime expendentibus ⁽⁷¹⁾ devolvuntur, prae pondere aut forte astu eorundem et vafritie humi collisae divelluntur, collo, manibus, brachiis effractis. Sicque sub altari concavo occuluntur. Ramus populari rumore admonitus frementis vulgi, quod imagines vel[ut] alter *εικονοκλάστης* perfregisset negare id suo jussu factum, ut res erat, minitari pueris *εικονοκλάστοις*, credere etiam. Non tamen mutari factum potuit. Ex quo Ramus apud omnes diffamari, ab adversariis traduci et insimulari coepit. Hanc ille nactus occasionem urgentem, non jam occulte sed (72) aperte religionem profiteri; mutare orationes sacello suetas, et memorias mortuorum et invocationes sanctorum abolere; sacris raro adesse; neminem deinceps ad id cogere, ut olim; imo iis favere potius, qui abstinerent; a communione

(71) text *expendentibus*, ms *expetentibus*.

Since I am now going to speak about Ramus's ultimate fate and miserable death, I shall make this my beginning. Throughout his life he professed the Catholic, that is the Roman, religion, and even, like St. Paul, persecuted those who acted irreverently or irreligiously when they were present at mass or the ceremonies; yet when those disastrous and pernicious troubles had arisen in France because of religion, either because he despaired otherwise of the safety of his own life in Paris, knowing that he would be hunted out and exposed to the weapons and plots of so many enemies and opponents (for in those turbulent times one could openly kill a man with impunity), or because he had already formed in his mind the idea of the reformed religion, keeping it hidden and declaring it and confiding it to no one, he was compelled to leave the city, once, twice even three times, and seek safety in flight, and although he had previously been able to hide somehow or other, on this occasion he suffered a loss of reputation and became unpopular with the people of Paris.

— *In Paris Ramus is taken for an iconoclast; the statues at the Collège de Presles are broken; Ramus gets a bad reputation in Paris, and openly professes the new religion : Nancel's last communion with him.*

He taught Euclid and mathematics at home, and realizing that the chapel of Presles was a very suitable place for listening to lectures, removed from all the crowds and the noise, he took refuge there with his pupils. Now since there were many of them who detested the Roman rites and statues, they urged Ramus to take down the statues which were placed round the altar. He obeyed their advice willingly, ordering old and crumbling wooden and stone statues to be taken down and hidden beneath the altars. While they were being removed some of them fell of their own accord and were broken, shattering into small fragments. Other huge heavy statues fell down while they were being carried by boys who were careless and reckless, or even malicious and not caring about the consequences, because of their weight, or perhaps because of the boys' cunning and cleverness; they fell to the ground and were smashed, breaking necks, hands or arms. So they were hidden under the hollow altar. When Ramus heard the angry popular rumour that he had smashed the statues like some iconoclast, he denied that it had been done at his order, and this was true, and threatened the boys who had smashed the statues, and said that he was a believer but could not alter the facts. Because of this everyone spoke badly of Ramus and he began

mystica et sacerdotali abstinere; alia sacra, alios ritus colere. Ac nisi fallor, postremo Paschate, quod apud illum versabar, cum domus quamplurimis et discipulis et magistris abundaret, nemo sacris aut communioni adfuit, praeter ipsum Ramum, et Jacobum Gopylum regium medicinae professorem, qui eo forte convenerat, et me tertium ejusdem mensae sacrae convivam. //15^v Ab eo autem tempore, Ramus aut in totum abstinere aut clam sacris participare instituit.

— *Rami secessus ab urbe tempore belli.*

Ut ut sit, postremis tumultibus, cum Lutetiae degere Ramus intutum judicaret, modo ad Fontem Bellaqueum ad regiam bibliothecam instructissimam secedere, modo ad Dionysii Fanum cum Principe Condaeo divertere, et hunc sequi ducem, non militando, non feriendo, sed observando, sed historiam meditando scribendoque, donec Juppiter ex alto intonans, fulmen suum in terras et in nocentes contorsisset, sicque sedata tempestate, lux serena pacis affulgeret.

— *Ramus peregrinatur in Germaniam; Ramus in Germania maximis honoribus affectus; quae urbes Ramo potissimum assurrexerint.*

Sed cum tempestas eadem bis terve repetivisset, et quidem gravior ac diuturnior, bellicorum Ramus insultuum atque dimicationum inter cives et populares [tantum non] pertaesus, liberam suscepit legationem; de qua consultus tacebo, (73) [tum qui non interfuerim, tum] quod hanc video a viro docto Theophilo Banosio, Rami in eadem peregrinatione comite, diligenter et eleganter perscriptam ⁹². De qua hoc tantum dicam : Ramo apud externos quam apud suos versari multo fuisse non modo tutius, sed etiam honorificentius. Qui enim honores summis principibus exhiberi a primariis civitatibus solent, ii ⁽⁷²⁾ sunt Ramo per aliquot Germaniae urbes insignes exhibiti, ut pote Argentinam, Friburgum, Basileam, Tigurum, Heydelbergam, Francofurtum, Noribergam, Augustam, Bernam, et alias plerasque Ramo adventanti congratulantes, et omni officii hospitalitatisque genere obsequentes, et publice privatimque hominem omnibus honorum titulis rege dignis prosecutas. In quo dicitur Comes Palatinus facile primas tulisse.

(72) text *ii*, ms *hi*.

⁹² Banosius's *Petri Rami vita* appears in the above edition of Ramus's *Commentariorum*. Ong points out (*Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 329) that Nancel was in error : Banosius did not accompany Ramus through Germany.

to be ridiculed and suspected by his opponents. When he had obtained this real opportunity he professed his religion openly instead of in secret; he changed the customary prayers in the chapel, and did away with the prayers for the dead, and the invocation of the saints; he rarely went to mass and no longer compelled anyone else to go as before, and was even more favourable to those who stayed away; he gave up the mystical communion of the priests, and instituted other ceremonies and rites. Unless I am making a mistake, at the last Easter which I spent with him, though the house was packed with pupils and masters, nobody went to mass or communion, except Ramus himself, Jacques Gopyl, the Royal Professor of Medicine who happened to be there at the time, and myself as the third guest at the sacred table. From then onwards Ramus decided either to stop practising altogether, or to attend mass secretly.

— *Ramus's flight from the city during the war.*

However this may be during the later troubles when Ramus judged it unsafe to stay in Paris, once he went out to Fontainebleau to the well-stocked royal library, and once he went to St. Denis with the Prince de Condé, following this leader, not by fighting or hitting anyone, but by observing, meditating on history and writing about it, until such a time as Jupiter should thunder from on high and send down his lightning on the guilty people on earth, and until the storm should have abated and the serene light of peace shone out.

— *Ramus goes on a journey to Germany where he receives the greatest honours; the cities which honoured him most of all.*

When, however, the same storm had raged two or three times, and become more serious and more persistent, Ramus became almost completely wearied to death by the warlike attacks and disputes among his citizens and fellow-countrymen, and he accepted a free delegation which I shall intentionally pass over in silence, both because I was not present on it myself and because I see that it has been carefully and elegantly written up by the learned man Théophile de Banos, who was Ramus's companion on the journey. All I shall say about it is this that Ramus was not only safer among foreigners than among his own people, but was treated more honourably. The honours which principalities usually accord to princes were given to Ramus in some important German towns, such as Strasburg, Friburg, Basle, Zurich, Heidelberg, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Berne and many others who fêted his arrival, offering him every kind of civic hospitality, showering on

— *Ramus revertitur in Galliam; Scipionis Africani exilium et epitaphium.*

Enimvero Ramus patriae amantior, quam sui et Praellei regni (ut vocare solebat) tam diu invisi desiderio percitus, summa festinatione in patriam contendit ac remeat, fictae pacis, ut sperabat, fruiturus commodis. Consultius vero facturus ille quidem, si Scipionem majorem imitatus fuisset, cujus clarissima opera injuriis pensando civitatis ignobilis eam ac desertae paludis accolam Roma fecerat; qui tamen sui voluntarii exilii acerbiter non tacitus ad inferos tulit, sepulcro suo inscribi jubendo, "Ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem mea habes", ut Val. Maximus refert, lib. 5, cap. 3.⁹³ Quid faceret? ⁽⁷³⁾

(74) quod fata trahunt retrahuntque
sequendum est ⁹⁴.

— *Ramus cum multis communis ruina, [in festo S. Barthol.].*

Reversum in urbem et in suo Praelleo secure, ut putabat, agentem, ecce inopina ruina et fatalis calamitas multis communiter exitialis miserum philosophum pariter involvit atque opprimit anno 1572, ferias Bartholomaei non lapillo atro candidove, sed cruore pro minio signans, atque ad posteros aeterna memoria novi et inauditi casus traducens ⁹⁵. De quo nihil amplius dicam, quia neque licet neque expedit, et luctuosum est tam acerba commemorando veluti vulnera refricando exacerbare, quae jam longa temporis serie pene occalluerunt, inductaque velut cicatrice, sic ἀμνησία illa solenni exoleverunt. Ut tamen de caussa modoque taceam, nemini facturus videor injuriam aut bilem moturus, si modum necis Rami philosophi et oratoris celeberrimi, contra Regis et Reginae voluntatem interdictumque a nefariis sicariis [mercede conductis] nequiter ac diriter patratae, brevissime commemorem. Namque, ut ait poeta, posteros rescivisse, "Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit" ⁹⁶. //16r

Jam biduum a strage in vulgus edita praeterierat, furor desaevierat, impetus populi deferbuerat, cum ecce immissi ab hostibus sicarii, facto impetu in scholam Praelleam irrumpunt, latebras et abdita locorum

⁽⁷³⁾ In the text *Quid faceret?* is added to the quotation from Virgil.

⁹³ Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum et factorum memorabilium*, 5, 3, 2.

⁹⁴ Virgil, *Aeneis*, 5, 709.

⁹⁵ "Lucky days were marked with white, and unlucky ones with black stones" Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, under *lapillus*.

⁹⁶ Virgil, *Aeneis*, 1, 203.

him both publicly and in private all sorts of honours worthy of a king. In this the Count Palatine is said to have easily taken the prize.

— *Ramus returns to France; the exile and epitaph of Scipio Africanus.*

Moreover Ramus loved his country more than he loved himself, and was moved with longing for his kingdom of Presles as he used to call it which he had not seen for a long time; as soon as peace had been established he hurried back home to his own country in order to enjoy its benefits — or so he thought. He would have been better advised to have imitated the elder Scipio whose outstanding achievements Rome repaid with insults, and made him into an inhabitant of a dreary isolated marsh; yet he did not carry the bitterness of his voluntary exile in silence into the other world, ordering this verse to be inscribed on his tombstone : “Ungrateful country, you will not even have my bones”, as Valerius Maximus says in Book 5, chapter 3. What then should he do? — “we must follow the fates whether they push us forwards or backwards”.

— *Ramus shares a common fate with many others on the feast of St. Bartholomew.*

When he had returned to the city and was safely re-established as he thought, in his Collège de Presles, an unexpected and fatal catastrophe which brought disaster to many people at once also overtook and struck down our unhappy philosopher in the year 1572; it marked the feast of St. Bartholomew neither with a black nor a white stone, but with the red of blood, handing it on to future generations with the memory of this new and unheard of event. I shall say no more about it because it is neither lawful nor fitting, and it is painful to aggravate the wounds by commenting on such unpleasant events, wounds which have now almost entirely healed since so much time has elapsed, have formed a scar and disappeared into sacred forgetfulness. As long as I remain silent about the cause and manner of it, I do not think that I will harm anyone or arouse anyone’s anger, if I briefly evoke the manner of the murder of the most famous philosopher and orator, Ramus, which was shamefully and ignominiously perpetrated by villainous paid assassins, against the expressed will and order of the King and Queen. For, in the words of the poet, as posterity finds out “Perhaps some day we will be pleased to remember even these misfortunes”. A space of two days had elapsed from the first eruption of this massacre among the people, the fury had died down and popular anger had become less severe; the murderers, sent by his enemies, burst with force into the Collège de Presles, and searched

perscrutantur, Ramum latitantem ubique locorum perquirunt. Qui hostium sentiens (75) adventum, incertus quid faceret, quo fugeret, ubi lateret, ad celsissimum collegii cubiculum conscendit, in bibliothecam perexiguam clauso ostiolo abditur.

— *Rami angustiae, latebrae, agonia, preces, trucidatio, praecipitatio, tractio, decollatio, submersio.*

In genua procumbit, orat, in agone conflictatur, et victimae simillimus, ferientis dextrae solum ictum expectat. Eo cohors conjuratorum effunditur, forte ducibus quibusdam et indicibus, ut Marium illum Romanorum Imperatorem aut Athanasium Alexandrinum Episcopum, sic Ramum prodentibus. Hominem orantem deprehendunt, oculis et manibus ad coelum intentis. Interrumpitur oratio et, ut Antonius ille Romanus orator in pari casu, sic Ramus eloquio suam innocentiam frustra conjuratis persuadere nititur. Orationem integrat eamque satis longam, et quidem qua forma in coetu ecclesiae reformatae solet recitari.

— *Duo Rami homicidae, et genus mortis philosophi.*

Ecce autem de duobus subornatis homicidis prior (duo enim praecipui suam operam hosti et tragoediae hujus auctori locarant, sartor unus, alter vero apparitor seu lictor, quem vulgo sergentem dicimus) frendens ac dejerans, catapultula duplici globo ferreo armata et instructa, caput orantis ferit et concutit, utroque tamen globo in pariete objecto alta imprimente (quae et vidimus et palpavimus ipsi) vestigia. Alter cum spirantem adhuc et semianimem, nutantem ⁽⁷⁴⁾ tamen, et qua poterat voce spirituque preces continuantem videret, ense capulo tenus a jugulo ad transversum thoracem transadigit. Procumbit humi (76) corpus [hominis] plus quam seminecis, et utraque parte vulneris sanguinem copiosum eructat, [vitalis ⁽⁷⁵⁾ et inspirati aeris habitu reciproco] spirituque hac illac exeunte, velut mugitum imitante. Prehensum latrones a pedibus [(ut olim Hectorem circum Trojae muros immanis Achilles)] per cubiculum trahunt. Tractu caput et solo et pavimento et transversis trabibus illiditur totumque cruentat, vestigiis ad annos plures facinoris immanitatem testantibus. Additur [sceleri scelus, et] nequitiae et crudelitati solertia. Abreptum grave corporis onus e fenestra humi praecipitant, ab altitudine graduum circiter centum, e suprema tristega, imo si licet dicere, pentastega devolutum. In subjectum tectum casu excipitur, inde

(74) ms *nutantem*, text *metantem*.

(75) The text has "vitali".

through the most hidden and secrets parts of the building, looking carefully everywhere for Ramus who was hiding. He had become aware of the arrival of the enemy, and not knowing what to do, where to fly to, or where to hide, had climbed to the topmost room of the college, and was hiding behind closed doors in a tiny library.

— *Ramus's dire straits, his hiding-place, his agony, prayers, murder; his being thrown out of the window, his beheading, and his being thrown into the river.*

He went down on his knees, and prayed, struggling in his agony, waiting like a sacrificial victim only for the hand which would strike the blow. The band of conspirators poured in upon him, perhaps led to the place by informers who had betrayed him, as happened to the Roman emperor Marius, and to Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria. They seized the man as he prayed with his eyes and hands raised to heaven. Ramus broke off his prayers, and like the Roman orator Antony in a similar situation, used his eloquence in a vain attempt to persuade the conspirators of his innocence. He continued praying at some length, the sort of prayer which it is customary to recite in meetings of the reformed church.

— *The two murderers and the manner of the philosopher's death.*

One of the two sworn killers (for there were two people in particular who offered their services to his enemy and the author of this tragedy, one of them a tailor, the other an apparitor or lictor, that is a bailiff), swearing and raging, fired at his head as he was praying a gun loaded with two iron balls, each of which left a deep impression on the opposite wall (which we ourselves have seen and touched). When the other assassin saw that he was still breathing and half alive, yet staggering, and continuing his prayers with what voice and energy he could muster, he stuck his sword in up to the hilt sideways through the chest from the throat. His body, more than half-dead, fell to the ground and great quantities of blood flowed out from both ends of the wound; as he breathed out the air he had just breathed in his vital breath and spirit was escaping, now here, now there with a sound of bellowing. The criminals dragged him by the feet across the room (as once savage Achilles dragged Hector round the walls of Troy), and his head knocked against the floor and the cross-beams, covering everything with blood, and for many years the stains bore witness to the ferocity of this ugly crime. Iniquity was added to iniquity and wicked inventiveness to cruelty; they lifted the heavy body up and threw it out of the window, casting it down from a height of about a hundred steps, from the topmost storey, that is the fifth floor.

ad terram lapsu graviore ruens decedit. Tectum sua mole deprimit, pavementum suo cranio solidiore altius defodit. Nondum plane emortuum, trajectis per pedes loris, ut ille Achilles Hectorem, dispositi nebulones in flumen Sequanam abripiunt, capite identidem pavementum susque deque allidente. Incertum, an plane mortuus, Ramus in fluvium demergitur. Sunt qui dicant caput illi a quodam chirurgo putatum, reliquum truncum aquis et piscibus mandat. Scio multos praetereuntes dato nummo, bajulos adstantes jussisse sibi Rami cadaver ripae innatans ad D. Michaelis pontem ostentari. //16^v

— *Fatum et divina ultio Rami percussorum; Rami multiplex mortis genus* ⁽⁷⁶⁾.

Denique omni saevitiae et crudelitatis genere [(sic olim Fulvia in Ciceronem acu linguam pungens (77) saevit, ab Herrenio jussu Antonii truncatum)] hostium praeferox animus in eo est abunde exatiatus. Quorum ducem et antesignanum contigit intra paucos menses acerbissimo tibiae in gangraenam putrentis dolore extinguere, alterum vero e duobus percussoribus eodem anno mucrone confodi, cum tertius a multis quotidie ad necem expeteretur; cujus de eventu nihil certum comperi. Hoc tamen monuisse juvat: nescio qua Dei providentia vel fato uni hominum (quod sciam) Ramo evenisse, ut triplici saltem mortis genere semel mortuus occubuerit, et quidem velut in elemento triplici, si eorum quae retuli, animo memoriam meditabundus complectare. Argumentum sane belli poematis aut naeniae aut threni aut elegiae, siquando mihi aut alio vacabit describere.

— *Exclamatio; N. quid in historico requirat.*

En Ramo merces laborum, en gratia studiorum, en eloquentiae divinae munus, en fructus et emolumenti in rem literariam praemium! Hic liceret oratori diserto exclamare, hic coelum terramque miscere, hic per prosopopoeiam conqueri, hic deos et sidera testes et vindices implorare. Sed nihil praeter nudam narrationem nunc placet adjicere, ne quem a cognitione vitae et actionum P. Rami affectata partis alterutrius defensione aut accusatione arceam removeamque. Illud idem velim observent plerique historici ut vera rerum gestarum narrationem simpliciter et nude instituant, ipsi suum (78) iudicium minime interponant, hos laudando, illos vituperando, ut animus in hanc aut [in] illam partem magis vergit, nempe affectato partium studio veram historiae fidem elevantes.

(76) text *mortis genus*, ms *genus mortis*.

It happened to hit a protruding roof and then rushed to the ground with greater force; it smashed the roof because of its weight, and the hard skull made a deep hole in the ground. He was still not quite dead and some ruffians who were on the spot placed ropes round his feet as Achilles did to Hector, and dragged him off to the river Seine, with his head banging up and down against the ground. It is uncertain whether Ramus was completely dead when he was thrown into the river. Some say that his head had been cut off by a surgeon, and the rest of his body consigned to the water and the fishes. I know that many passers-by paid some street-porters who were there to take out Ramus's floating corpse and exhibit it on the Pont St. Michel.

— *The fate and divine punishment of Ramus's murderers; the manifold nature of his death.*

In the end his enemies sated their fierce anger by every kind of savagery and cruelty, just as Fulvia indulged her rage against Cicero by piercing his tongue with a needle when he had been mutilated by Herennius at Antony's orders. The leader and guide of the assassins met his death within a few months, after suffering greatly from a gangrenous shin; the other one of the two murderers was stabbed in the same year; and though many people are looking for the third in order to kill him, I have no certain news of the outcome. One point, however, is worth noting : I do not know by what divine power or fate it was, but Ramus was the only man (as far as I know) to have died three deaths at once, and in three elements, as it were, if you remind yourselves and think carefully about what I have related. It would make the subject of a fine poem, funeral chant, lament or elegy, if I myself or anyone else ever had the leisure to write it.

— *An exclamation; what Nancel looks for in a writer of history.*

This was Ramus's reward for his labours, this was the thanks for his studies! So much for his gift of divine eloquence, so much for its fruits, and his reward in the literary world! Here it would be lawful for an eloquent orator to exclaim, to cause a storm, to complain by means of personification, to call on the gods and the stars to bear witness and to defend him. But I do not want to add anything here to the bare narration of the facts in case I prevent anyone from gaining a true knowledge of the life and works of Ramus, by undertaking a defence of, or attack on, one side or the other. I wish that other writers of history would set about a simple, bare narration of the facts themselves, and refrain as much as possible from inserting their own judgements, praising

— *Rami caesi bibliotheca et supellex expilatur diripiturque : N. queritur de furto suorum monimentorum.*

Illud superest dicere, post extinctum anno aetatis 57 philosophum oratoremque praestantissimum, illico in bibliothecam grassatores ac praedones suam rabiem convertisse, permultosque de faece populi permistos fures totam lautam supellectilem intra horae unius momentum expilasse, ita ut serae et vectes et repagula avulsa raperentur. Doleo autem bibliothecam longe pulcherrimam instructissimamque tam nefarie, tamque hostiliter [direptam, expilatam,] depopulatam, in qua instruenda et dirigenda quondam gnaviter laboraveram. Sed eo magis doleo quod cum Rami libris et monimentis et *αὐτομάτοις* mathematicis perquam eximiis simul etiam libri a me de Graeco in Latinum conversi, et mea manu plurima Graece descripta volumina (in quo me puer studio multum exercueram, characterum Graecorum formam et elegantiam conatus manu typicis vel excusis haud absimilem referre et exprimere) a nescio quibus piratis vel plagiaris rapta nobis perierunt. Utinam vero qui ea ⁽⁷⁷⁾ injuste detinent, pungente synteresi commoniti, aut veris dominis restituant aut in communes usus sub nominibus [genuinorum] authorum emittant, plus laudis ex ista justitia // 17^r reportaturi, quam si arguente ⁽⁷⁹⁾ conscientia, coram Deo justo iudice ac vindice, post mortem de plagio furtoque tam insigni rationem reddere, uti necesse erit, cogantur.

— *Rami bibliothecae pretium, et praestantia.*

Rami bibliotheca, meo quidem iudicio, circiter mille aureorum coronatorum valorem ad summum aequabat, libris quidem plurimis humanioribus et Graecis et Latinis exornata sed perpauca theologicis, medicinalibus, legalibus, ut ex indice memini, quem ipse pridem confeceram. Quotquot autem in mathematicis extabant in omni linguarum genere, hos omnes quantocumque pretio redimebat, studiosissimeque undique conquisitos asservabat. De cujus bibliothecae futuris olim haeredibus et facultatum reliquarum, tum in nominibus, tum in pecunia numerata, tum in supellectile, tum in praediis (quae tamen admodum pauca possedit, eaque sola fere avita, forte ad quinque aut sex jugera ⁽⁷⁸⁾, quod summum est) ille olim peregrinaturus et nequid interim sibi humanitus accideret veritus, ita caverat statueratque :

⁽⁷⁷⁾ text *qui ea*, ms *quia*.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ ms *jugera*, text *vigera*.

some and blaming others, in order to make one incline one way or the other, that is to say, by introducing their prejudices to weaken historical credibility.

— *After Ramus's death his library and furniture are despoiled and scattered; Nancel bemoans the theft of his own papers.*

All that remains to be said is that after the death of this outstanding philosopher and orator at the age of fifty-seven, immediately, bandits and robbers together with many thieves from the dregs of the people, directed their rage against his library and pillaged the whole of its fine furnishing in the space of a single hour, so that even the locks, the bolts and the bars were torn off and taken away. I grieve for his superb and well-stocked library which was robbed, pillaged and depopulated in such a wicked and criminal manner, especially as I myself had once worked so diligently in building it up and looking after it. I grieve for it all the more because together with Ramus's books and papers and his remarkable mathematical machines, there were also books translated by me from Greek into Latin, and many Greek manuscripts which I copied out; (as a boy I had been very interested in attempting to represent and express in writing an elegant form of the Greek letters, not unlike that of printed characters); which were stolen by some pirates and plagiarists or other and eventually perished. I wish that those who have unlawful possession of them would pay attention to the pangs of conscience, and would either restore them to their rightful owners or publish them for everyone else's use under the names of their real authors. They will gain greater merit by acting correctly in this way than if they are compelled to justify, against their conscience, as they will be, a theft of such magnitude, before God the just judge and avenger.

— *The value and excellence of Ramus's library.*

Ramus's library, in my estimation, was worth in all about a thousand gold crowns, being enriched with very many classical texts in Greek and Latin, but very few theological, medical or legal books, as I remember from the catalogue I once made of it. He used to buy whatever mathematical books were available in every possible language, regardless of cost, and he preserved with very great care these books which had come from many different sources. Once when he was about to go on a journey, being afraid in case he died, he was careful to make provisions about the future heirs of this library, and of his other goods, investments, cash, furniture and land (though he did not have much land, and most of it was inherited, perhaps five or six *jugera* and no more).

— (80) *TESTAMENTUM P. RAMI*

In nomine Dei Patris, Filii, Spiritus Sancti.

Ego P. Ramus professor Regius in Academia Parisiensi, animo quidem corporeque valens, de vita autem cogitans cum per se debili, tum incertis susceptae ad invisendum nobiles externarum gentium Academias peregrinationis casibus objecta, Testamentum ita condo statuoque.

Animus.

corpus.

bona.

Rami

vectigal

annuum.

Ramus

instituit

in

mathematicis

professorem,

quibus

conditionibus.

Modus

deligendi

Mathematici

Ramisticam.

Mathematici

professoris

munus.

Triennalis

professor.

Animum Deo (a quo factus [est]) in coelestem beatorum familiam adoptandam commendo. Corpus terrae, unde ortum est, in iudicii diem committo. E vectigali meo septingentarum libellarum in Parisiensi basilica annuarum, lego quingentas in stipendium Mathematici professoris, qui triennio Arithmetica, Musica, Geometria, (81) Optica, Mechanica, Astrologia, Geographia, non ad hominum opinionem, sed ad Logicam veritatem in Regia cathedra doceat. Primum Fridericum Reiserum in tres primos annos professorem eligo, nomino, creoque, ut inchoata communibus vigiliis opera Optica, praesertim et Astrologica perficiat. Quo tempore si ad methodum Mathematico prooemio propositum, perfecta aut effecta studiose seduloque curaverit, triennium alterum prorogo. Exacto triennio siquid secus, aut sexennio, si ex optato votoque faxit, novam electionem //17^v a professoribus regiis sic institui volo. Professionis examen, et jam professione ipsa perfuncto, et caeteris omnibus cujuscumque nationis mathematicum studiosis, a Collegii Decano in tertium mensem promulgator. Interea praelegendi, et ingenii explicandi demonstrandique facultas (82) candidatis esto. Ad examen nemo nisi Latinis Graecisque literis et ingenuis artibus praeter mathemata reliquis instructus admittitur. Trimestri promulgationis praeterito, Candidati, praesentibus aut certe rogatis atque invitatis Senatus Praeside primo, primoque Oratore regio, tum mercatorum Praefecto, deinde professoribus regiis, omnibusque omnino quibus interesse libuerit, publicum examen subeunto, praelegendo septem diebus horam unam de praecipuis singulorum mathematicum capitibus, octavo die respondendo et satisfaciendo problematis et theorematis omnibus, quae contra a quolibet proposita fuerint. Ex omnibus examinatis, qui iudicio professorum regionum, omnium matheseos peritorum aptissimus ad mathematicam professionem videbitur, in triennium proximum eligitor, primaque praelectione, (83) mathematicum laudibus juventutem ad capessendum laudatae scientiae studium exhortator; deinceps triennio quoque examen consimile esto. Ut tamen professor, qui ante fuerit, caeteris vel paribus Candidatis anteponatur. Si quo tempore unicus omnium matheseos partium peritus inveniri non possit, propositum stipendium

— *RAMUS'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT*

In the name of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. I, Peter Ramus, Royal Professor in the University of Paris, being of good health in mind and body, and meditating on my life both because it is fragile in itself, and because I am exposing it to the dangers of the journey I have undertaken to visit famous foreign universities, I make and formulate this will.

I commend my soul to God (by whom it was made) asking him to welcome it into the heavenly family of the blessed. I commit my body to the earth from which it came, until the day of judgement. From my revenue of seven hundred pounds in the Paris Hôtel de Ville, I bequeath five hundred as a salary for a Professor of Mathematics who will teach from a chair at the Collège Royal, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Optics, Mechanics, Astronomy, and Geography, for three years, not according to the opinion of men but according to logical truth. First I choose, nominate and create Frideric Reisner as professor for the first three years, so that he will be able to finish the work on optics which we began by our common labours, and especially the work on astronomy, and if during this time he takes care to finish and perfect it according to the method laid down in my *Introduction to Mathematics*, I offer him a further period of three years. Otherwise, when the three years are up, or when the six years are up if he has acted according to my desires and wishes, I want a new election to be instituted by the Royal Professors in the following manner. Let an examination of teaching be promulgated by the Dean of the College to take place in three months time, both to the man who has just completed a period of tenure of the chair and to all other mathematical scholars of every nation. Meanwhile let the candidates have an opportunity of lecturing, and of showing and proving their ability. Let no one be admitted to the examination unless he is proficient in Latin and Greek and the other liberal arts as well as mathematics. When the three months of the advertisement are passed, let the candidate undergo a public examination in the presence of the following people (or at least after they have all been summoned and invited): the First President of the Parliament, the First Royal Orator, the Prefect of the merchants, the Royal Professors, and anyone else at all who wishes to be present. Let the candidates lecture for one hour on seven days on the main points of the different branches of mathematics, on the eighth day replying to and solving all the problems and theorems which anyone proposes to them. Let the candidate who, in the judgment of the Royal

His soul.

His body.

His goods.

His annual revenue.

Ramus sets up a professorship of mathematics;

the conditions.

The manner of choosing

a mathematician for the

chair of

Ramus.

Professio
divisa.

Fundatio
Rami in
perpetuum.

200
librarum
legatum.

Rami
patrimonium,
et nomina,
et
bibliotheca.

duobus dividitor, qui sesquianno descriptam professionem aequi partibus exequantur. Praefectum mercatorum et Aediles, in quorum custodia basilica urbis posita est, oro, ut in perpetuam Parisiensis Academiae gratiam, vectigal illud perpetuum esse velint, ut si forte redimatur pecunia, in annum redditum collocetur. //18^r

E reliquis ducentis libellis, lego centum Honorato Carpenterio avunculo meo ejusque uxori, si superfuerit; et post utriusque obitum, filiae eorum (84) juniore, et ejus liberis. Centum libellas reliquas Alexandro sororis meae filio : si tamen progressum in literis hoc munere dignum, judicio meorum Procuratorum fecerit. Secus, quotannis distribuuntur duobus doctissimis omnium et discendi studiosissimis Praellei gymnasii alumni, in quinquennium tantum; et deinceps succedentibus aliis duobus consimiliter. Bona paterna maternaque legitimis haeredibus relinquo. Quaecumque mihi a gymnasio Praelleo debentur, in arbitrio Procuratorum meorum constituo. Bibliothecam et supellectilem reliquam, nominaque omnia lego, semisse altero pauperibus alumni Praellei gymnasii, altero Procuratoribus executoribusque mei testamenti Nicolao Bergeronio, et Antonio Loysello, discipulis quondam meis, modo Advocatis in Senatu. Quibus, [quod] ad quingentarum libellarum (85) vectigal attinet, Decanum Regii collegii custodem adjungo, et mortuis substituo. Scriptum mea manu, signatumque Lutetiae Parisiorum in gymnasio Praelleo, Anno salutis 1568. Cal. Augusti.

Professors, is the most suitable of all the mathematical scholars to teach mathematics be elected for the three years following; in his inaugural lecture, by his praise of mathematics, let him encourage young people to undertake the study of the subject he is praising. Thereafter let a similar examination take place every three years, with the proviso, however, that the professor in office should be preferred to candidates who are otherwise equal to him. If at any time it is not possible to find anyone skilled in all branches of mathematics, then let the proposed salary be divided between two men who will share the teaching as described for eighteen months each. I beg the Prefect of the merchants and the councillors who are responsible for the Hôtel de Ville, to see to it that these revenues will be for the perpetual benefit of the University of Paris, and if ever the money should be redeemed it should be invested for an annual revenue. Of the remaining two hundred pounds I bequeath one hundred to my uncle Honoré Charpentier, and to his wife if she survives him, and after the death of both of them, to their younger daughter and her children. The remaining hundred pounds I leave to my sister's son, Alexandre, on condition that, in the opinion of my executors, his educational progress merits this gift. Otherwise let it be distributed yearly to the two most learned and most studious of the pupils of the Collège de Presles, but not for more than five years; thereafter to other pupils in the same way. I leave my paternal and maternal goods to my legitimate heirs. Whatever is owing to me from the Collège de Presles, I refer to the decision of my executors. My library, the rest of my furniture, and all my investments I bequeath, half to the poor pupils of the Collège de Presles, half to the procurators and executors of my will, Nicolas Bergeron and Antoine Loisel, who were once my students, and are now Advocates in the Senate. In so far as concerns the five hundred pounds, I join to them as custodian the Dean of the Collège Royal, and substitute him for them when they die. Written in my hand and signed, in the Collège de Presles in Paris, the year of salvation, 1568, on the first of August.

The duties
of the
Professor
of
Mathematics.
A three-year
post.

A divided
chair.

Ramus's
foundation
to be
perpetual.

The legacy of
200 pounds.

Ramus's
family
goods, his
investments
and his
library.

PH. DUST

GEORGE HERBERT'S TWO ALTAR POEMS

While Herbert's shaped poem about an altar has received careful attention, his Neo-Latin quatrain on the same subject has not.¹ Probably written while the poet was still Public Orator at Cambridge, sometime between 1623 and 1627, it is number XXIX of "Lucus" and is titled "*Λογικὴ Θυσία*". It reads,

*Ararumque Hominumque ortum si mente pererres,
Cespes vivus Homo, mortuus Ara fuit :
Quae divisa nocent, Christi per foedus in unum
Conveniunt; et Homo viva fit Ara Dei.*²

It has been suggested that the poems of "Lucus" are generally more didactic than the later devotional English poems of Herbert.³ I believe that the earlier more didactic "*Λογικὴ Θυσία*" sheds considerable light on the more devotional and better known English altar poem. The evidence provided by both poems indicates a movement in Herbert's artistic development from the Aristotelian scholasticism of Cambridge to the personalized spirituality of Augustine.⁴ Adaptation of classical materials which in the early poem are treated with formalistic method becomes in the later poem more meditative. Herbert's position as a seventeenth-century Christian humanist emerges in greater relief.⁵

¹ See Mary Ellen Rickey, *Utmost Art : Complexity in the Verse of George Herbert* (Lexington, 1966), pp. 9-16 and *passim*; Joseph H. Summers, *George Herbert : His Religion And Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 140-43.

² *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1953), p. 417. All further quotations of Herbert's poetry will be from this edition.

³ *The Latin Poetry of George Herbert*, trans. Mark McCloskey and Paul R. Murphy (Athens, Ohio, 1965), p. 179.

⁴ Arnold Stein has discussed the general debt of Herbert to Augustine, *George Herbert's Lyrics* (Baltimore, 1968), pp. xviii-xxix. Rickey cites the interesting fact that Augustine is one of the two authors Herbert mentions in his will, p. 188. The passage reads, "then I bequeath to Mr. Bostocke St. Augustines workes," Hutchinson, p. 382.

⁵ See Douglas Bush's discussion of this concept in *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (Toronto, 1939).

In terms of origin, components, formation, and purpose of an altar, both poems develop along similar lines. The terminology of scholastic philosophy is appropriate : efficient, material, formal, and final causes. In each poem there are two altars the causes of which might be charted as follows :

“Λογικὴ Θυσία”		
	Old altar	New altar
<i>Causes</i>		
efficient		Christ or (Christi)
material	dead earth or (cespes mortuus)	living earth or (cespes vivus)
formal		a covenant or (per foedus)
final		God's possession of the altar or (Homo viva fit Ara Dei)
“The Altar”		
	Old altar	New altar
<i>Causes</i>		
efficient	the poet's offering	God's power
material	heart and tears as stones	heart and tears as praises
formal	the poet's sacrifice	God's sanctification of the sacrifice
final		God's possession of the altar

The final cause in both examples of the new altar is possession of them by God. As the English poem has it,

And sanctifie this ALTAR to be thine.

In the old altar of the Latin poem there is only the “cespes mortuus” of classical poetry as the material cause. The “cespes vivus” of the new altar is as much the point the author is emphasizing as is the possession of it by God. But the life-giving process is not elaborated on except in the bare theological terms “per foedus Christi.” Such terms were significant enough for the purposes of a college disputation. But with the old altar in the English poem the author is making an offering of his own, living, suffering self. The covenant or formal cause of the Latin poem is taken as a basic assumption to be enlarged on in the English poem. The question in “The Altar” is not whether man has been an altar historically, as Christ has been; it is rather whether the poet as an individual may become an altar. If the new altar in the Latin poem has all of the causes necessary for an acceptable sacrifice, the new altar in the English poem

has them with special relation to the poet as a person. To the methodically reasonable structure of the Latin poem, Herbert has added in "The Altar", prayers of humility, petition, and praise, which point to the kind of symbolic, merciful, and personalized reasonableness we find in Augustine.⁶

In "*Λογικὴ Θυσία*" the poet is making a theological argument designed to prove his point in the form of syllogistic logic. The kind of mental gymnastics characteristic of scholastic disputations at Cambridge are put to work poetically.⁷ Herbert's opponent in the disputation has posited an argument like the following :

Major : Whatever is dead is not of God.

Minor : But an altar is dead.

Proof of Minor : Earth is dead.

But an altar is made of earth.

Conclusion : Therefore an altar is not of God.

It is the kind of argument that someone who is opposing the use of an altar in religious services might have brought up. We know how concerned Herbert was with objections of this sort.⁸ In answer to his opponent's argument, Herbert, following good scholastic logical protocol, distinguishes the middle term "cespes." What his opponent has said is true "ortum si mente pererres," but the historical action of Christ must also be considered. Herbert's argument runs :

Major : Those things which are united through the covenant of Christ become the possession of God.

Minor : But man, living earth, and an altar, dead earth, are united through the covenant of Christ.

Proof of Minor : Christ does not want what is harmful.

But the separation of men and altars is harmful.

Conclusion : Living man becomes the altar of God.

⁶ The idea of symbol plays an important part in Augustine's concept of sacrifice. He says,

Ac per hoc ubi scriptum est : *Misericordiam volo quam sacrificium*, nihil aliud quam sacrificium sacrificio praelatum oportet intellegi; quoniam illud, quod appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii. (I. p. 278)

All further references to this work will be in the text from this edition and cited as Vols. I or II : *Sancti Avrelii Avgustini De Civitate Dei*, in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, MCMLV), Vols. XLVII, XLVIII.

⁷ For a concise treatment of the disputation, see William Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 14-31.

⁸ His *Musae Responsoriae* against Melville is largely concerned with such issues.

Logically, then, the poem is in two parts. Lines one and two are a distinguishing of terms; lines three and four are a new argument for Herbert's conclusion.

The form of "The Altar" is rather that of a meditation and a prayer.⁹ The basic conclusion of "*Λογικὴ Θυσία*," that living man becomes the altar of God, is not, according to logical categorization, a necessary conclusion applying to each and every individual man. Christ's covenant and sacrifice have simply made it possible for men to belong to God; individual sanctification still remains subject to the discretion of the individual person. The poet must direct his intentions directly to God, rather than to an audience of theologians. The theological propositions that Christ has redeemed man, has sanctified altars, and has enabled man to share in his sacrifice must be translated into an individual meditative dialectic. In "The Altar" that dialectic runs as follows :

- 1 Although I am an unworthy altar, God, you have made me worthy.
- 2 Only you are powerful enough to make such an unworthy servant worthy.
- 3 Even if I am silent, let me continue to be worthy to share in your sacrifice and praise.

The meditation begins with a reflection on human frailty, proceeds to a eulogy of God for improving that frailty, and ends with a prayer for a continuance of God's assistance. Herbert did not have to consult Ignatius of Loyola for the form. He had precedent enough for it in the meditations of Augustine.¹⁰

Although the question of the kinds of altars which are acceptable to God is formulated in the context of academic scholasticism with "*Λογικὴ Θυσία*", and in the context of Augustinian theology with "The Altar", pagan sources for both poems are relevant for tracing Herbert's poetic development.¹¹ The process of christianizing humanistic pagan sources is rooted in Herbert's education at Cambridge. His *studia pomeridiana* at Cambridge concentrated primarily on those

⁹ Louis Martz has discussed the concept of meditation in *The Poetry of Meditation : A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (London-Oxford, 1954).

¹⁰ Augustine had a strong influence on Ignatius's method. See Robert W. Gelason's introduction to *The Spiritual Exercises Of St. Ignatius*, trans. Antony Mottola (New York, 1964), p. 19.

¹¹ Rickey, pp. 1-58.

sources¹². The contrast between the pagan concept of sacrifice and the Christian must have been as important to him as the contrast between the Old Testament and the New, or between Anglican attitudes about the liturgy and Calvinist. In the Latin poem it is precisely the introduction of the historical Christ which converts the lifeless altars of Horace and Vergil into theologically reasonable altars of Christianity. The altar of Dosiadas and of Besantinus in the *Greek Anthology* XV, 25 and 26 speak personally about the kinds of sacrifices they have witnessed. Much of that same personal tone is in Herbert's "The Altar." We remember that the brunt of Augustine's argument in *De Civitate Dei* is directed against pagan worship which was popular in the fourth and fifth centuries.¹³ This may have influenced Herbert to stress the contrast between pagan and Christian altars in "Λογικὴ Θυσία".

Hutchinson notes that although the title for the Latin poem comes from a combination of classical and scriptural sources, Rom. xii. 1 and 1. 2., the expression "positus carbo in caespite vivo" comes from Horace's *Ode* III. viii.3.¹⁴ In addition to the wording in this line, there is another reference in Horace's ode which no doubt caught Herbert's eye: "servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae / Cantaber sera domitus catena". (ll. 21-22)¹⁵ Because of its associations with the mythical founding of Cambridge, "Cantaber" was just the kind of reference a student at the university found interesting and useful in his own Latin composition. And indeed, Horace addresses his companion as "docte sermones utriusque linguae." (l. 5) Herbert, the university orator, who himself wrote poetry in Latin and Greek, would have found the title appropriate.

There are at least two other classical references where the words "in caespite vivo" have sources: Horace's *Ode* I. xix. 13 and Virgil's *Aeneid* III. 303-5. Horace calls his servants to bring him altar-turf so that by means of sacrifice he can ward off the allurements of lovely Glycera: "hic vivum mihi caespitem". Vergil represents Aeneas telling

¹² Costello, p. 42. The *studia antemeridiana* at Cambridge were devoted to philosophical matters; the *studia pomeridiana* for the most part to classical.

¹³ Christopher Dawson has commented at length on this historical situation, "St. Augustine And His Age," in *St. Augustine: His Age, Life, And Thought*, ed. M. C. D'Arcy, et al. (New York, 1957), pp. 15-101.

¹⁴ p. 579.

¹⁵ All quotations from Horace are from *Horace: Odes And Epodes*, ed. Charles E. Bennett (Boston, 1901). All quotations from Vergil are from *Vergil*, ed. trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass., MCMLX).

the story of his meeting with Andromache who was offering sacrifice in a grove :

“*Manisque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem
et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.*”

The last line reminds us of the poet's tears in “The Altar”. In Horace's ode, the sacrifice is purely pagan and treated lightly; in Virgil's epic, it is in vain. In “Λογική Θυσία,” Christ's sacrifice gives spiritual life.

The iconographic similarity between Herbert's “The Altar” and the two altar poems in the *Greek Anthology* has been dealt with.¹⁶ But between these two poems there is the same kind of opposition that exists between the old altar and the new altar of “Λογική Θυσία.” Dosiadas begins by speaking of his maker, his origin :

*Εἰμάρσενός με σήτας
πόσις, μέροψ δίσαβος,
τεῦξ' (ll. 1-3)*¹⁷

And, as Dosiadas is careful to say that Jason and not Achilles made him, Herbert says in “The Altar,”

No workman's tool hath touched the same.

Besantinus immediately begins with the observations that the sacrifices he has witnessed are pure :

‘Ολὸς οὗ με λιβρὸς ἱρῶν
Λιβάδεσσιν, οἷᾶ κάλχη
‘Υποφωινίησι τέγγει (ll. 1-3)

Sanctification or purification of his sacrifice is Herbert's prayer in “The Altar,”

*O let thy blessed SACRIFICE be mine,
And sanctifie this ALTAR to be thine.*

What we have in the altar poem of Besantinus is the same concern with acceptable sacrifice, the construction of the altar, the maker of the altar, and its purpose, that in the altar poems of Herbert are the efficient, formal,

¹⁶ Summers, pp. 140-43.

¹⁷ All quotations from the Greek Anthology are from *The Greek Anthology*, ed. and trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass., MCMLX), 5th volume, p. 130 (Besantinus) and p. 132 (Dosiadas).

material, and final causes. Finally the opposition of Besantinus to Dosiadas is reflected in the opposition of the two altars in each of Herbert's poems. Alluding to the sacrifice on Dosiadas's altar, Besantinus says :

καθάρως γάρ ἐγὼ
 'Τὸν ἰέντων τεράων, οἷα κέκευθ' ἐχέινος
 'Αμφὶ Νέαις Θρηϊκίαις..... (Il. 23-25)

Herbert rejects the pagan altars of stone and substitutes instead his heart.

But the influence of Latin and Greek pagan poetry on Herbert must be viewed in a patristic context. It is significant that the altar poems in the *Greek Anthology* are in book XV which also contains poems specifically Christian. In addition to poems by various monks, deacons, and nuns, there is a poem on Constantine's cross (15-16), on the crucifixion (28), and on the resurrection of Lazarus from the dead (40)¹⁸. This kind of context could not have gone unnoticed by Herbert. The subordination of classical to Christian, however, finds its most impressive source in Augustine. The principal ideas of reasonable sacrifice, of individual man as the sacrifice, of the power of God and the humility of the creature, and of the praise which the altar gives, are traceable to that great Church Father.

Reasonable sacrifice for Augustine is based on faith. In fact, human reason itself is based on divine illumination. Citing a comment of Plotinus on Plato, Augustine says, *Civ.*, X. ii,

Dicit ergo ille magnus Platonius animam rationalem, sive potius intellectualis dicenda sit, ex quo genere etiam immortalium beatorumque animas esse intellegit, quos in caelestibus sedibus habitare non dubitat, non habere supra se naturam nisi Dei, qui fabricatus est mundum, a quo et ipsa facta est; nec aliunde illis supernis praeberi vitam beatam et lumen intellegentiae veritatis, quam unde praebeatur et nobis... (I. p. 274)

Applying this to sacrifice, Augustine (*Id.*, X. vi) reasons,

Etsi enim ab homine fit vel offertur, tamen sacrificium res divina est, ita ut hoc quoque vocabulo id Latini veteres appellaverint. (I. p. 278)

And further (*Id.*, X. vi),

Cum itaque nos hortatus esset apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora nostra hostiam vivam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium nostrum, et non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in novitate

¹⁸ *Greek Anthology*, V, p. 120, p. 136 and pp. 144-148.

mentis nostrae : ad probandum quae sit voluntas Dei, quod bonum et bene placitum et perfectum, quod totum sacrificium nos ipsi sumus...
(I. p. 279)

In "The Altar", the living earth of "Λογικὴ Θυσία" has been expanded into the personal terms of the human self, renewed by the grace of God :

*Whose parts are as thy hand did frame;
No workmans tool hath touch'd the same.*

As Augustine says about those who offer themselves as purified sacrifices (*Id.*, XX. xxv),

Hostiae porro in plena perfectaue iustitia, cum mundati fuerint, ipsi erunt. Quid enim acceptius Deo tales offerunt quam se ipsos? (II. p. 748)

Herbert's emphasis on the humility of the creature in the offering of himself as an altar echoes the whole feeling of Augustine's *Confessions*. Especially with relation to "The Altar," an expression of this humility in terms of praise is found in Bk. IX, I. 1 :

"O Domine, ego servus tuus, ego servus tuus et filius ancillae tuae. disruptisti vincula mea; tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis." laudet te cor meum et lingua mea, et omnia ossa mea dicant : "domine, quis similis tibi?" dicant, et responde mihi et dic animae meae : "salus tua ego sum." quis ego et qualis ego? quid non mali aut facta mea aut, si non facta, dicta mea aut, si non dicta, voluntas mea fuit? tu autem, domine, bonus et misericors, et dextera tua respiciens profunditatem mortis meae, et a fundo cordis mei exhauriens abyssum corruptionis. et hoc erat totum nolle, quod volebam, et velle, quod volebas."¹⁹

We also see the same emphasis on the petitioning of the heart.

In terms of this petitioning and the sacrifice it entails, Augustine's comment on the psalmist's words in *De Civitate Dei* is pertinent.

Unde ille paenitens apud prophetam vel ipse propheta quaerens Deum peccatis suis habere propitium : "Si voluisses", inquit, "sacrificium, dedissem utique; holocaustis non delectaberis. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contritus; cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernet." Intueamur quem ad modum, ubi Deum dixit nolle sacrificium, ibi Deum ostendit velle sacrificium. Non vult ergo sacrificium trucidati pecoris, et vult sacrificium contriti cordis. (I. p. 277)

¹⁹ *St. Augustine's Confessions*, ed. and trans. William Watts (Cambridge, Mass., MCMIX), II, p. 2. Critical edition : St. Augustin, *Confessions*, texte établi et traduit par P. de Labriolle, 2 vols. (Paris, 1956⁷).

Although the contrast here is between the sacrifices of the Old Testament and the New, by implication it certainly extends to those of the pagans and the Christians.

"The Altar" is the opening poem of the Church section of Herbert's "Temple." About the temple, Augustine says,

Huic [Deo] nos servitutem, quae λατρεία Graece dicitur, sive in quibusque sacramentis sive in nobis ipsis debemus. Huius enim templum simul omnes et singuli templa sumus, quia et omnium concordiam et singulos inhabitare dignatur... (I. p. 275)

When Herbert says,

*That if I chance to hold my peace,
These stones to praise thee may not cease,*

he echoes the idea of inward as well as outward latreia. Augustine describes the function of the altar in the temple as follows,

Cum ad illum sursum est, eius est altare cor nostrum;

And in the same passage, the themes of humility and praise (I. p. 275) are summed up once more,

ei sacrificamus hostiam humilitatis et laudis in ara cordis igne fervidam caritatis... (I. p. 275)

"Λογικὴ Θυσία" was a blueprint for Herbert's later English altar poem. Other poems in Herbert's "Temple" can be compared profitably with the poet's earlier Latin work. Edmund Blunden has made such a comparison with the "L'Envoy" and the "Inventa Bellica"²⁰. Mary Ellen Rickey compares "Jordan" and "In Mundi sympathiam cum Christo", "Church-musick" and "De Musica Sacra," "The Pearl" and "In S. Scripturas," as well as a number of other poetic developments in Herbert's theory, styles, and themes²¹. The "Passio Discerpta" with its vignettes of Christ's passion, and even the polemical epigrams in defense of Anglican liturgical discipline with their disputatious use of conceits point to Herbert's later meditations in "The Temple."

A comparison of "Λογικὴ Θυσία" and "The Altar" indicate a poetic development in which Herbert moved away from the combination of the classical poetic tradition with forms of Aristotelian scholastic logic

²⁰ E. Blunden, "George Herbert's Latin Poems," in *Essays and Studies*, Vol. XIX, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1934), pp. 37-39.

²¹ Rickey, pp. 33-34; 108-10; 105; *passim*.

to the more meditative and deeper personal Augustinian perspective. And yet he did not abandon the basic causality underlying either view. Intellectually his shift was from the academic to the clerical point of view. Poetically it was from the formalism of the late middle ages to the more appealing humanism of a rediscovered tradition. Augustinian personalism supplied an outlet for Herbert's devotion.

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MANUEL BRICEÑO JÁUREGUI, S.J.

LA POESIA EN LATIN EN COLOMBIA ¹

1. *Los conquistadores*

De los conquistadores españoles algunos, como don GONZALO JIMÉNEZ DE QUESADA (1499-1579), escribieron versos latinos. Todos ellos están hoy perdidos, pero consta que hubo entre ellos quienes sabían

haber versos latinos que son varios
en la composición y cantidades ².

Sobre el sepulcro de los capitanes muertos no podían faltar dísticos latinos. A falta de losa se grababan muchas veces en la corteza de los árboles ³. Entre aquellos aventureros jóvenes hubo uno, don JUAN DE CASTELLANOS (1522-1607), que se convirtió después en sacerdote y en historiador de la conquista, y fue versificador latino de buen corte. En sus *Elegías* conserva veintidós de tales epitafios compuestos por sus compañeros o por él mismo. En todo caso ello indica que ya en el siglo XVI la poesía latina original habitaba en el suelo americano. Conozcamos algunos ejemplos de aquellos tiempos.

En la muerte del capitán Rodrigo de Arana, cordobés, cuatro hexámetros de sabor virgiliano son testigos de una gran tragedia :

Haec Crux ostendit foedatum sanguine litus
Gentis, quae ignotos primus migravit ad Indos;
Saepe preces longas pro victis fundite, namque
Unius ob noxam cunctos mala fata tulerunt ⁴.

¹ Para este capítulo nos hemos inspirado principalmente en el exhaustivo libro de José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, *El Latín en Colombia*, Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo (Bogotá, 1949).

² Juan de Castellanos, *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Madrid, 1886), I, 367.

³ Juan de Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*, Biblioteca de Autores españoles, 4 (Madrid, 1914), p. 164.

⁴ J. De Castellanos, *Elegías*, p. 30.

Impresiona a veces la concisión del pensamiento y la largueza de contenido, casi todo aprisionado en un epigrama :

Mole sub hac fortis requiescunt ossa Leonis,
Qui vicit factis nomina magna suis ⁵.

Igual parece el de Antonio de Sedeño, retratado en cuerpo y en hazañas en solo dos versos definitivos :

Hic requiescit homo Sedeñus (*sic*) corpore parvus :
Rebus at in cunctis pectore magnus erat ⁶.

Y lo curioso es que, en plena selva americana, no se les escapan alusiones mitológicas o de la historia griega y romana. Muy pocos sabrán hoy quién era Crespo y menos habrán oído mencionar al ingeniero y matemático del siglo III antes de Cristo, autor de una obra sobre máquinas de guerra para asediar ciudades y otra sobre óptica, el griego Bitón. Pues aquellos conquistadores lo sabían :

Continet Ortali, bustum quod cernitis, ossa,
Qui factus Croesus, factus et ipse Biton.
Valde dolet varios huius perpendere casus,
Plusque dolet nobis tam citus interitus ⁷.

Casi todas las inscripciones manejan la misma idea : Fueron hombres excepcionales por el valor, mas la fatalidad les cortó la vida. Y esto, lo mismo se refieren a personajes aislados o a pueblos :

Hic populus viguit donis ditissimus olim :
Vix tamen erectus concidit ipse miser.
Si varios mundis gliscis perpendere casus,
Praeclaris oculis hic satis unus erit ⁸.

O a bellas damas, como la infortunada doña Inés a quien Llanoso "cortó las venas de su blanco cuello" con un puñal asesino, por quien no faltó quien escribiese en los árboles este par de dísticos :

Conditur his lauris praefulgens forma puellae,
Quam tulit insontem sanguinolenta manus.
Gloria sylvarum est extinctum cernere corpus,
Ast homini vivens displicuit facies ⁹.

⁵ J. de Castellanos, *Elegías*, p. 70.

⁶ J. de Castellanos, *Elegías*, p. 135.

⁷ J. de Castellanos, *Elegías*, p. 125.

⁸ J. de Castellanos, *Elegías*, p. 151.

⁹ J. de Castellanos, *Elegías*, p. 166.

Es verdad que esto no es poesía auténtica porque falta mayor espontaneidad e inspiración; aunque sí aparece notable corrección, dominio del verso, y aciertos felices. Pero lo más llamativo es que Castellanos los pone en boca de cualquier soldado. Y aun cuando no fuera verdad, tal perfección métrica, sin libros a la mano, sin licencias del verso es cosa que maravilla. Testimonio al menos de que con los españoles llegaba hasta nosotros fácilmente la dulce poesía del Lacio ...

Algo parecido acontece con los encomios o las dedicatorias de libros. La poesía latina era signo entonces — como lo sigue siendo todavía — de aristocracia espiritual. Oigamos si no un fragmento de la presentación con que el dominico fray ALBERTO PEDRERO (†1602) elogia las *Elegías* del beneficiado de Tunja :

... Ipse sibi laudum magnos cumulavit acervos.
His bene perspectis, quisquis verissima pandit,
Mittit et in lucem, quae sunt detenta tenebris,
Carminibus comptis, laudis quoque dignus habetur,
Ut *Castellanos* hic, qui fortissima bella
Narrat, et eventus rerum, variosque labores,
Qui superant omnes, quos doctus pingit Homerus,
Extenuantque viri prorsus discrimina Teucri ... ¹⁰

2. Fundación de colegios y universidades

Pero sigamos la historia. El año 1563 fundan los padres dominicos en Santa Fe (Bogotá) la primera escuela de latinidad, a la cual se siguen muchas más de jesuitas, de agustinos recoletos, de franciscanos, de arzobispos, aquí como en otras partes. Algunos de tales colegios serán la base de futuras Academias o Universidades en el Nuevo Mundo, como ya existían la de San Marcos en Lima, la Real y Pontificia de Méjico, la de Santo Domingo. Para ellas el latín es el vehículo del saber. “El aprendizaje de la gramática y literatura latinas constituye la primera parte de la educación, el primer estudio serio que debe afrontar el discípulo después de aprender a leer, escribir y contar; todas las materias incluso la propia gramática, deben explicarse en latín; latinos son los textos escolares y la mayor parte de las obras de consulta; el latín se escucha en los actos privados y públicos de los centros docentes, en discursos y pláticas; los documentos que emanan de las universidades o se dirigen a ellas deben extenderse en latín; en latín, finalmente, tienen

¹⁰ J. de Castellanos, *Elegías*, p. 3.

obligación de hablar profesores y alumnos entre los muros del colegio o de la universidad ...”¹¹

Además, y como prueba, “el número de obras latinas alcanza un alto porcentaje de la suma total de los libros existentes en las bibliotecas coloniales...”¹²

En tal ambiente florecerá durante los siglos XVII y XVIII un buen número de metrificadores latinos. Los más de ellos hombres de iglesia para quienes este idioma no es solo el de la cultura sino el de su estado¹³. Pero tampoco faltarán seglares que lo cultiven. “La poesía latina colonial, infortunadamente, no salió nunca del género de literatura de colegio”, afirma con toda verdad Rivas Sacconi¹⁴, con el estigma de poesía de ocasión ya fuera en grados o certámenes poéticos, ya en elogios de vivos o en honras fúnebres, ya con ocasión de votos religiosos o para congratular al autor de un libro, o en hechos parecidos. De esta clase de versificadores podrían citarse nombres como los de FRANCISCO RINCÓN (fl. 1647), DIEGO DE FIGUEROA (1630-1688), PEDRO DE SOLÍS Y VALENZUELA (†1711), JOSÉ ORTIZ Y MORALES (c. 1650), los frailes JOSÉ DE OCHOA (fl. 1705), ANTONIO BERNARDO DE LAS PEÑAS (fl. 1707), los jesuitas JUAN MANUEL ROMERO (1633-1726), MIGUEL DE MONROY (1678-1739), GABRIEL ALVAREZ (1641-1702), autor este último de un bello epigrama en una biografía de sus difuntos progenitores :

Hunc ego, Caelicolae, praelo committo libellum,
 Ut modo vestrorum fama perennis eat.
 Fama frequens vestri per totum transvolet orbem,
 Atque per aeternum semper avara sonet.
 5 Vestra maritali sic fulsit lumine taeda,
 Clarior ut rutilae non dedit ulla faces.
 Sic ergo vos libro ad claras edite luces.
 Nam candelabrum nunc erit iste liber¹⁵,

al cual hace eco el P. ALFONSO DE NEIRA (1635-1706) en otros bien cortados dísticos que comienzan :

¹¹ J. M. Rivas Sacconi, *El Latin en Colombia*, pp. 56-57.

¹² Rivas Sacconi, *o.c.*, p. 80.

¹³ Rivas Sacconi, *o.c.*, p. 169.

¹⁴ Rivas Sacconi, *o.c.*, p. 170.

¹⁵ Rivas Sacconi, *o.c.*, p. 172.

Improba laethali damnet si stamine Clotho,
 Et celeres rumpet Parca severa dies :
 Nulla tui, Gabriel, disrumpet fila parentis,
 Semper in aeternum vivet uterque parens ... ¹⁶

Mas no todos son meros versificadores. Hay contados poetas de verdad en esta época. Entre ellos sobresalen los jesuitas FRANCISCO JAVIER DE RIVAS (1720-1754), MANUEL GÓMEZ DE LA ASPRILLA (†c. 1760), poeta latino de limpios y armoniosos versos de sabor ovidiano ¹⁷, y JUAN ANTONIO DE OVIEDO, “uno de los primeros en abrir en Méjico los horizontes internacionales” ¹⁸, cuyo “cortesano numen” compuso en diversos metros latinos de todo corte. Nacido en Santa Fe del Nuevo Reino (1670) se educó en Lima y en Guatemala; la mayor parte de su vida la pasó en Méjico donde murió en 1757.

Así, pues, durante tales siglos “el verso latino es solicitado, en competencia con el castellano, para la expresión de sentimientos y celebración de personas y hechos. Aunque en máxima parte sin alma, la poesía latina se presenta, en comparación con la prosa, como un ejercicio literario libre, por punto general, de ulteriores finalidades y, por ende, más depurado. El poeta no podía prescindir de una preocupación artística, por mínima que fuese, obligado a tener en cuenta cierto número de cánones precisos. Los cauces obligados de la métrica, que refrenan muchas extravagancias, hacen la poesía de una calidad ordinariamente superior a las de las páginas de oración suelta trazadas por la misma época. Por otra parte, en la versificación es más patente el influjo renacentista : salvo en pocos casos, los compositores coloniales usaron los restaurados metros clásicos, de preferencia a los acentuales” ¹⁹.

A partir de 1740 se intensifica la vida cultural neogranadina en todos los campos, sobre todo en la corriente científica : lo cual lleva consigo cierta mengua de los valores puramente literarios. A lo cual, en la Nueva Granada, contribuyen factores importantes, como la introducción de la imprenta (1738), la Expedición Botánica (1783) ²⁰, la Biblioteca Pública

¹⁶ Rivas Sacconi, *o.c.*, p. 173.

¹⁷ Rivas Sacconi, *o.c.*, p. 180.

¹⁸ Rivas Sacconi, *o. c.*, p. 181.

¹⁹ Rivas Sacconi, *o.c.*, p. 228.

²⁰ A propósito de la Expedición Botánica podríamos hacer mención aquí de don MANUEL DEL SOCORRO RODRIGUEZ (1758-1818), cubano de nacimiento, traído acá

(1777), el nuevo plan de estudios para los Colegios Mayores (1774), la aparición de publicaciones periódicas (1785), el dinamismo del arzobispo-
virrey Caballero y Góngora (1782-1789) y del virrey Ezpeleta (1789-1797),
el teatro (1794) y los círculos literarios, el observatorio astronómico
(1802) y la investigación científica iniciada por el sabio Mutis (1760), por
Humboldt y Bonpland (1801) ... Mas las conmociones políticas y luego
la guerra de Independencia interrumpen largamente la tradición greco-
latina-hispánica ...

En esta época, sin embargo, sabemos de muchos profesionales y
eruditos criollos — buenos conocedores del latín — que escriben epi-
gramas, inscripciones y aun íntegras poesías, como el eminente
jurisconsulto don MIGUEL TOBAR Y SERRATE (1782-1861)²¹, como
SAMUEL BOND, nacido en Inglaterra en 1816 pero que desde mediados del
siglo había venido a Bogotá donde muere en 1885. Profesor de latín y de
inglés, amigo de M. A. Caro y de Rufino José Cuervo, preceptor del
primero de ellos, cultiva la poesía latina, ágil y agradable en las traduc-
ciones de fábulas, de elegante sabor horaciano en las versiones al latín

por el Virrey Ezpeleta, y neogranadina por espíritu y por obra. Humanista, versificador
fecundo, fundador del periodismo nacional, bibliotecario del alba, para don Manuel
la Expedición Botánica es un movimiento definitivo en la Nueva Granada. Para ella
y su sabio director tiene elogios sinceros. En una reciente publicación hecha en
Medellín, *Colombia Ilustrada* (entrega correspondiente a enero-abril de 1973), se
publican tres dísticos latinos en edición facsimilar, pero sin indicación de su proceden-
cia, aun cuando la grafía es de la época — 1793 —, de la misma mano que caligrafió
el idilio *La Flora de Bogotá* a la cual se añade como colofón, y que por el contenido
parece ser del propio Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez. De todas maneras, con con-
strucciones raras y rebuscamientos sirve de ejemplo del latín común de esos días :

Iudicium ingeniumque tuum describere versu,

Ingeniumque mihi, iudiciumque deest.

Iudicio, ingenio polles; potes omnia, si non

Fallor ab ingenio iudicioque meo.

5 Iudicium ingeniumque meum quodcumque sit, haut sum

Falsus in ingenio iudicioque tuo.

²¹ En el *Archivo de don Ign. Gutiérrez Ponce* (en la Academia de Historia, Bogotá),
p. 33, se conservan estos dísticos dedicados a « Antonio Iosepho Sucre Sacros Ordines
suscepturo » :

Evocat eu! Sucre, florentibus annis

Et jubet in castris aera merere suis :

Lauro devinctos gaudet tondere capillos,

Lauro quos cinxit miles ut impavidus.

5 Iam nunc mundanum contemnit nomen et odit,

Odit morte nihil quod veniente juvat. (ms. : *jubat*)

o netamente romano y personal en las elegías y epigramas ²². En la muerte de su hijo — *De filii morte* —, por ejemplo, escribe dos sentidos dísticos :

Has nimium saevas non fas est credere poenas
 Terrestres ortus ducere. Disce pati!
 Est ubi, quae pateris, caelestia munera fiunt;
 Est, ubi quae censes verbera, totus amor.

Un curioso epigrama polaco traducido al francés, escrito para satirizar los métodos rusos de gobierno, refiere que un hábil cochero conducía una carroza de cuatro caballos, y para estimularlos decía a la pareja de atrás :

Heus, cavete, posteri,
 ne vos relinquant qui locum primum tenent!

Semejantes cosas repetía a los de adelante para que no se dejaran alcanzar. Y sucedió que

Omnes citatis ungulis viam vorant,
 Tum rem videns viator quidam misericors,
 “Vae! verba das”, exclamat, “afflictis equis!”
 “Do verba”, ait; “sed currus utique provolat”.

Pero el fuerte de Bond son los *Poemata latine translata* : del marqués de Santillana, Quevedo, Iriarte, Ventura de la Vega, Matos Fragoso, Prudhomme, Malherbe, Longfellow, Milton, Coleridge ... En *L'Agonie*, v.g., Prudhomme rechaza las voces impertinentes de aquel sagrado instante : *Je suis las des mots, je suis las d'entendre / Ce qui peut mentir ...*

Vos queis contigerit morituri adstare cubili,
 Nil obsecro loquamini;
 Suave melos memores faxitis leniat aures;
 Sic, sic mori pulcherrimum!
 5 Odi etenim voces, taedetque audire loquelas,
 Quae forsitan sint fabulae;
 Hi sonitus cordi quos non comprehendere cogor;
 Sentire tantum sufficit ...

Longfellow nos presenta al *Blind Bartimeus* del Evangelio *at the gates of Jericho*, que vertido por Bond se transforma en

²² Citamos de los manuscritos : Samuelis Bond Angli, *Interpretationes Latinae et nonnulla epigrammata quotquot reperiri potuerunt : superstes amicus* (= Caro) *collegabat* : serán publicados próximamente, en edición crítica, por el Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

- Caecus, inops, porta Timaei filius urbis
 Qua praetergreditur maxima turba, sedet;
 Ancipitesque audit voces, "Venit ecce Magister";
 Aura refert voces, "En Galilaeus adest" :
 5 Continuo, "Fer opem caeco, sate Davide", clamat,
 "En oculis dempta est, lux. Miserere mei!" ...

Y continúa la narración hasta la aplicación final a tí, oh mortal, que
cernens cernere nescis,

Et dubium incassum pergis inire viam...

Conmovedor el canto de Milton a *Lycidas* : *Weep no more, woeful
 Shepherds, weep no more* ..., que termina con la estrofa promisoría
 traducida así por Bond :

Iam, Lycida, cessant pastores flere peremptum,
 Tuque dehinc Genius fatalis habebis orae
 (Larga tua haec merces), praesensque tuebere custos,
 Siquis fallaces posthac tentaverit undas.

La versión sin embargo que podríamos considerar más famosa es la
 Oda (1872) *Ad Pusae aquas* (*Orillas del Pusa*, de Ventura de la Vega)
 dedicada a don Rufino José Cuervo, "elegantísima imitación horaciana" :
 la cual presentamos por completo :

Ad Pusae aquas

- Vae! quantus ardor! Quantus et in genis
 sudor labanti dum pede turgido
 de monte descendo, et loquaces
 Pusa, tuas subeo latebras!
- 5 Hic in reducto litore da mihi
 paulisper acres fallere pectoris
 curas, et humectare gratis
 fluminibus sitientia ora;
- 10 udaque arena membra reponere
 defessa. Quanto desilis arduo
 de monte cum plausu, Tagoque
 Praecipitas dare concitatis
- tributa gyris! Usque adeo situ
 exilis, hac ut rupe sedens, tui
 cunasque conspexisse possim
 fluminis, et liquidum sepulcrum,

- Sed ne pudori sit tenuem alveum
Tago minores volvere vortices;
Decurre paupertate laetus!
20 Neve tibi latuisse curae
- Sit, quodve pictis in tabulis sciens
cursum exaravit nulla manus tuam
Nomenque. Felices benignus
queis Deus incoluisse campos
- 25 concessit aequos, et spatia ultima
complere vitae suspicientibus
umbras et anfractus viarum, et
praecipites sine sole clivos!
- 30 Quo Pusa ritu tu procul urbibus
compendiosam clam trepidas viam.
at cuius excurrisse gestis
in gremium interiturus, ille
- late minorum rex Tagus amnium,
quot ponderosis pontibus opprimi
35 tranquilla fert aegre fluentia!
Ut cohibet vada amoena vafre
- porrecta moles! Ut vitreum alveum
viden? biremis remigium scaphae
insultat audaci carina,
40 signaque versicolora pandit
- lasciva ventis! Hinc oculo invido
miratur amnem pacificum tuum :
hinc sacra liventem fatigat
vis maris Oceani, capaces
- 45 cui devorare est ludibrio trabes
quas ferre lasso non poterat sinu.
O Pusa, vix limes colono,
quot speculo capita innocenti
- Servum et tyrannum reddere unda, si
50 valles per istas et patula aequora
Praegestientem ferre gressum
sors tibi deterior dedisset!
- Lete subactae testis Iberiae
quot dira vidit funera, quo die
55 regi Roderico sepulcrum
sanguineis patefecit undis!

- Cur te nefastum carnificem loquar?
Te Fama Magnum quem male credulis
proclamat, et vinxisse certat
60 tempora tergemini coronis,
- Titana, nostrum non genus, ut tua
stella occupavit sulphureo polum
fulgore bis denos per annos,
obruit ut Beresinae in undis.
- 65 Non una! Labens Pusa per avias
umbras, sat esto quod potes arido
praebere Sextili rapacem
unde sitim minuat viator!
- Quod stagna praebes pura, relucida
70 queis pastor alto culmine montium
lento pede in vallem revertens,
atque ovium pecus omne ripae.
- Confertum in ipsa margine, pervigil
custosque ovilis saeva Caniculae
75 momenta placent, et benignis
frigoribus recreentur artus.
- Nobisque pura sic liceat frui
lympha! Ast eundum est. Pusa vale. Brevem
cum pace delabare cursum, et
80 Malpiciis faveas colonis.

Metrifican también hombres como FERNANDO CAYCEDO Y FLOREZ (1756-1832), como NICOLÁS URRUTIA (1788-1847) y LUIS VARGAS TEJADA (1802-1829), cantores de Bolívar en dísticos o en metros horacianos. Entre tanto otros latinistas manejan con donaire la prosa del Lacio a imitación de Marco Tulio: entre ellos FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA (1766-1822), CUSTODIO GARCÍA ROVIRA (1780-1816), los TOMÁS TENORIO Y CARVAJAL (1758-1850), MARIANO DEL CAMPO LARRAONDO Y VALENCIA (1772-1860), y muchos más.

Y comienza la Independencia hispanoamericana (1810). A raíz de ella se precipita una serie de reformas en la enseñanza. El latín y las humanidades clásicas ceden el campo a otras ciencias. Múltiples proyectos, nuevas reformas y planes originan reacciones, resistencias, más proyectos otra vez, en todos los cuales siempre es el latín el que pierde terreno, aunque sin extinguirse del todo en Colombia. Pues pese a las dificultades

se publican textos de autores latinos, se escriben ²³ gramáticas latinas, como las de MANUEL POMBO (1769-1829), de JUAN FERNÁNDEZ DE SOTOMAYOR Y PICÓN (1777-1849), de Fray J. A. HILARIO MARÍA PINILLA (1836-1876), del presbítero JOSÉ MARÍA POMPEYO (†ca. 1866) y la de MIGUEL ANTONIO CARO (1843-1909) y RUFINO JOSÉ CUERVO (1850-1911). Por su parte la producción poética en latín es escasa : y de ella solo quedan ocasionales elegías, inscripciones o dísticos funerarios en las sepulturas.

3. Miguel Antonio Caro ²⁴

Y así hemos llegado al gran vate latino de resonancia mundial, “uno de las más eminentes humanistas que la raza española ha producido

²³ Manuel Pombo, *Gramática latina facilitada para uso de principiantes* (1826); Juan Fernández de Sotomayor y Picón, *Elementos de la gramática latina redactados para la juventud que se educa en el Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Bogotá por su actual rector* (Bogotá, J. A. Cualla, 1830); J. A. Hilario María Pinilla, *Principios jenerales para construir las oraciones del idioma latino*. Obra escrita por el P. Frai Antonio Medina, reformada i adicionada por Frai J. A. Hilario María Pinilla, ambos religiosos franciscanos (Bogotá, P. Torres Amaya, 1858); José María Pompeyo, *Curso de lengua latina* (Cartagena, 1850); Eustaquio Palacios (1830-1898), *Explicación de las oraciones latinas*, 2a edición (Cali, Hurtado, 1867); Miguel Antonio Caro (1843-1909), Rufino José Cuervo (1850-1911) : *Gramática de la lengua latina para el uso de los que hablan castellano* (Bogotá, Foción Mantilla, 1867). Cf. Rivas Sacconi, *El Latín en Colombia*, pp. 319-330; M. A. Caro y R. J. Cuervo, *Gramática de la lengua latina para el uso de los que hablan castellano*. Décima edición con Estudio preliminar e Indices por J. Páramo Pomareda (Bogotá, 1972); M. Briceño Jáuregui, « La gramática Latina de Caro y Cuervo », *Thesaurus*, XXVI (1972), 551-569.

²⁴ Miguel Antonio Caro, *Poesías Latinas*. Edición dirigida por J. M. Rivas Sacconi (Bogotá, 1951); Id., *Versiones latinas*, Ed. dir. por J. M. Rivas Sacconi (Bogotá, 1951); Id., cf. nota 66 infra.

Cf. J. M. Rivas Sacconi, *El Latín en Colombia*, pp. 347-418; J. M. Fernandez, « Un gran poeta latino : Miguel Antonio Caro (1844-1909) », *Humanidades*, IV (Comillas, 1952), 90-102 = *Thesaurus*, IX (1953), 396-409; J. Motta Salas, « M. Antonii Cari carminum libri tres » *Thesaurus*, X (1954), 353-396; J. Jaramillo Uribe, « Obra y formación filosófica de M. A. Caro », *Studium*, 1 (Bogotá, 1957); J. IJsewijn-Jacobs, *Latijnse Poëzie van de twintigste eeuw* (Lier/Belgica, 1961), passim; Marisa Vismara, « La poesia de la naturaleza en los ‘carmina’ de Miguel Antonio Caro », *Thesaurus*, XIX (1964), 106-128; Id., « De Michaelis Antonii Cari carminibus Latinis », in *Acta Conventus Latinis litteris linguaeque fovendis Melitensis*, ed. E. Coleiro (Malta, 197?), *sub prelo*; Actos celebrados en su honor en la ciudad de Roma (Bogotá, 1965); I. Hernández Norman, *Miguel Antonio Caro : vida y obra* (Bogotá, 1968).

durante el siglo XIX": don *Miguel Antonio Caro*, nacido en Bogotá (1843) y fallecido aquí mismo (1909).

De una robusta formación humanística y filosófica, llega a ser primero Vice-Presidente de la República y luego Presidente de la misma (1892-1898) :

maiestas patriae evasit me praeside salva ²⁵.

Profesor, orador parlamentario y académico, periodista, filósofo, apologista, poeta original *in utroque sermone* (castellano y latino), traductor de Virgilio y de numerosos autores clásicos y modernos en romance y de muchos otros en metros latinos, a su indomable carácter podría aplicarse el diamantino alcaico de Horacio :

*iustum ac tenacem propositi virum ...*²⁶

Pues bien, prescindiendo de muchos otros valores literarios vamos a ceñirnos a un corto análisis de *su poesía latina*.

Desde la adolescencia cultiva Caro la poesía en la lengua del Lacio. De entonces data la mayoría de estas composiciones : "iуvenilia scripta sunt, de quibus illud quoque dicendum erit : sint ut sunt aut non sint", escribe en el Prólogo a su libro *Latinae Interpretationes* (En la edición del Instituto Caro y Cuervó, Bogotá 1951, el título es *Versiones Latinas*). Siempre, a lo largo de su vida, encontrará en ella sosiego, en medio de ardientes luchas doctrinales y políticas, en especial en la madurez y en la plenitud de los últimos años. Es precisamente en esta época cuando se dedica a reunir y ordenar los extensos escritos latinos de su vida que hoy forman varios volúmenes : a saber, *Carminum libri tres*, que son poesías suyas originales; *Latinae interpretationes, sive carmina e poetis praecipue Hispanis, tum Italis, Gallis, Anglis latine reddita*; y *Rudericí Cari, Baetici, Cantio Hispanica celeberrima ad ruinas Italicae. Cum prolegomenis et interpretatione poetica et commentario critico edidit M. A. Carus*.

Los *Carmina* de Caro, de graciosa variedad temática y métrica, cantan unas veces la naturaleza, o el hogar, o las personas, o la soledad, otras la patria, la política, los amigos o impugna a los adversarios, o elogia

²⁵ Caro, *Poesías*, p. 83.

²⁶ *Carmina* III. 3. 1.

la religión, o hablan de la muerte y guerra, o son epigramas, epitafios y elegías diversas. Caro versifica por una necesidad espiritual, puesto que las condiciones políticas en que vive son adversas a las Musas :

... persistere conor
Omnibus expositus rumoribus, omnibus undis,
Nomine sub magno servus miserabilis aulae! ²⁷

Demasiado extenso sería tratar de todos los temas de la inspiración de Caro. Para concretarnos vamos a reducirnos a un solo campo, el que más nos ha llamado la atención en este breve estudio : la *interiorización* — esencia de la lírica — tal como aparece en las poesías latinas originales de don Miguel Antonio. Y nada más que de la *naturaleza exterior*.

En el *Praefatio* de los poemas, por ejemplo, la naturaleza se le entra por los ojos hasta el corazón. Una humilde casa de campo cabe la cual pasa un oscuro caminito, ¡tan semejante a la vida!,

paupere sub tecto propter quod semita serpit
persimilis vitae, semper opaca, meae

y no lejos una aldea de la sabana santaferña, con su silencio campesino cortado por el canto de las aves en la arboleda y por aquellas campanas pueblerinas, que se escuchan mientras el bardo revisa y pule poemas que escribiera en otros tiempos, tan alejados ya para él que no parecen propios ...

Saepe, candente die, versus quos scripsimus olim
Colligere, et calamo saepe notare, iuvat.
Versiculos, inquam, sic nostra aetate remotos
Ut bene iam nostrum non videantur opus.

Mas ese paisaje agreste se le clava en el alma, se interioriza, y una lágrima resbala por sus mejillas, que borra, al caer, los versos :

At prius ex oculis potiusve ex corde dolenti
Gutta fluit, scriptis fitque litura meis ...²⁸

Baña un río las musgosas rocas, el bosque fresco, “con la suavidad de su murmullo / refrigera los campos fatigados” :

Qui strepitu blando fessis solatia praebes
Atque salutifera dulce levamen aqua!

²⁷ Caro, *Poesías*, p. 75.

²⁸ Ib., p. 9.

Mas ese río se compenetra con el bardo, quien cree ver en él una larga saeta que va mostrando nuestro destino :

Hoc tibi, lympa, satis, quod ,dum lasciva videris,
Felices monstras certa sagitta vias ...²⁹

Menos explícito es al hablar de una fuentecilla. Nace — dice — oculta,
principiis parvis fons ad maiora create,

entre rocas; baja saltarina convirtiéndose con gorjeos sus cristales en blanca espuma, al precipitarse de las empinadas piedras,

saxis illisus, et albam
In spumam vertis rauco cum murmure lymphas,

y corre hermosa, humilde, mientras al paso la saludan los musgos, las aves, las riberas ... En el fondo, sin embargo, el alma del vate no puede disimular un leve suspiro de inocente envidia, con ansias de soledad y de silencio :

invidiam fastusque superbos
Pacis amore fugis ...³⁰

Y, a propósito del agua, ¿la visión del mar? El poeta no conoció nunca el mar. Pero su imaginación es vivaz. Habla con una Sirena a quien sueña

blanda, decus pelagi, Siren, aptissima nando,

cuya voz dulce hechiza y aplaca al Océano. Que otros busquen la tierra con sus flores cargadas de colorido; para él nada importa (*urget*) sino el inmenso amor del mar gigante,

et ventos, nebulasque tuas, scopulumque minacem ...,

mientras doquiera la luz titila como flores de estrellas ³¹. Imagen del mar que ha penetrado en su alma de bardo y le lleva a otro plano, el de la ambición humana. Se ha mantenido firme, y no le aterran

Horrendi nimbi, turbati fulgura caeli,
Immanis moles irrequieta maris ...

La ambición le ha convertido en marinero, en capitán de una peligrosa

²⁹ Ib., *Ad rivum in deserta fugientem*, p. 25.

³⁰ Ib., *Fons*, p. 13.

³¹ Ib., *Siren*, p. 24.

aventura, atraído por el gemido del céfiro con el cual cruzaría los cielos, si pudiera :

Imus, io! puppis iam ducitur ales in altum;
Sarcina sum, maior gloria nulla tamen.
Me, quocumque volet, Zephyri vocet auro gementis,
Aerías utinam ferrer in usque plagas!

Luego reflexiona de una manera universal. La herencia de las águilas — piensa Caro — es el ancho firmamento, la del varón fuerte es la tierra, el aire, el mar. Y esto que piensa es expresado concisamente con la vigorosa solidez del latín :

Omne aquilae caelum est : tellus et pontus et aer,
Cuncta cadunt fortis sub ditione viri ³².

En otros lugares leemos pasajeras alusiones al ponto inmenso que es unas veces tranquilo, otras agitado, donde habitan mudas criaturas gigantescas, y conchas nacarinas, y qué sé yo :

Oceane, inmensa qui terra perluis urna
Plenus, sive levis, seu gravis unda cadit,
Quem tacitis remis incognita monstra pererrant,
Cui iacet et caecis plurima concha vadis ...³³

O se refiere a las olas que nacen juntas ³⁴, o al amor que boga viento en popa — alta petens — ³⁵ ... Mas tales referencias son en general escasas, y siempre líricas. Más le atrae el ambiente del campo, el paisaje sabanero, los bosques, el viento, la opulencia del Trópico, las yedras, las flores, los animales. La naturaleza le hace descansar de las fatigas de la vida — Caro es un polemista, un estudioso, un escritor de alto vuelo —. Por eso, en unos dísticos dirigidos *Ad se ipsum* se invita a cesar en el trabajo, a tomar un descanso en la placidez del agro abierto con sus avecillas juguetonas sobre el río ...

Mens, sublata vagis, quas fecit Daedalus, alis,
Audax, sed divûm non aditura domos,
Desine iam causas rerum explorare latentes,
Illicitas, quaeso, desere fessa vias,
5 Iam iamque, ante malo pereas quam victa labore,
Rus, placida gaudens simplicitate, veni.

³² Ib., *Ambitio*, p. 27.

³³ Ib., *Solitudo duplex*, p. 26.

³⁴ Ib., *Adversa spatia*, p. 36.

³⁵ Ib., *Amor alta petens*, p. 37.

Aspice iucundum tectum silvamque sonantem,
 Aspice ut ad puras devolet ales aquas.
 Mens mea, nil agites, paullum requiesce sub umbra,
 10 In minimis dulci rebus amore mane.³⁶

¿Y los árboles? Los considera una inmensa mansión llena de hojas cuyo techo se sostiene sobre rudas columnas, y esparce su sombra bienhechora en el musgo y las humildes fontanelas que bañan sus raíces :

Grandis, opaca domus, blando quae garrula vento
 Celsa super solidis suspendis tecta columnis,
 Muscosas lymphas gelida quae desuper umbra
 Cingis, et immissis subter radicibus hauris ...

Tal mansión, sin embargo, de troncos ramas y follaje es la que ofrece al poeta consuelos, dulzura y paz, tanto que pensaría que el corazón se ha penetrado con sus fibras :

Vos, trunci, rami, frondes, solatia fertis
 Deliciasque animo, sic ut praecordia nostra
 Vestris crediderim sociari sanguine fibris.

Porque los rayos del sol parecen desarmarse y el hálito embalsamado que se respira fluye de sus hojas saludable :

His positis radiis Phoebus devenit inermis,
 Quosque volans rapuit vestra de vertice odores
 Sensibus infundit nostris levis aura salubres.

Suavidad que llega hasta el pensamiento, con un lejano olvido de las cosas ... ¡Qué bueno es estar a solas! ... ¡La muerte misma no espanta al hombre! *Mens umbris gaudet* — dice el aedo — y añade con cierta reminiscencia virgiliana : *carpitque obliviam rerum*. Para terminar con clásica sofrosine :

Et solum esse iuvat, nec mortis terret imago³⁷

que a su vez le inspira en otro poema una reminiscencia mitológica cuando el

Rusticus Endymion, placido sopitus in antro,
 Fecit ut e caelo Phoebe descenderet alto
 Herboso cupiens obscura quiescere lecto ...³⁸

³⁶ Ib., p. 11.

³⁷ Ib., *Silvae*, p. 16.

³⁸ Ib., *Amor alta petens*, p. 37.

Un día, en un florecer de primavera tropical, mira al rededor. Todo invita a amar, porque en realidad

Halantes flores, silvae, nidique tepentes,
Quidquid sub caelo vivit, amare docet.

Y aquí notemos los dos dicientes epítetos : el perfumar de las flores (*halantes*), como si dijera, el olor del bosque, y los tibios nidos (*tepentes*) con sus polluelos — esperanza de la música del cielo —. A ellos añade el alegre color del campo, la dulzura rítmica del aire, de que hablará en los versos siguientes. Todo le entusiasma con equilibrada medida. Pues bien, en esos instantes huye el dolor, el mismo tiempo acelera los latidos del pecho, la plenitud de desconocidos deleites alegra el espíritu, el firmamento con sus viejas estrellas siempre nuevas y los frescos matices que decoran el valle consuelan ... ¡Qué bello es amar ahora! ¡Se ha extendido la felicidad entre los mortales! ... Mas, ¡ay dolor! Así los otros, los que rodean al poeta, pues él ... como los esclavos, siente que no puede rechazar de sí las cicatrices, esas del amor, que son tan dolorosas ...

Huic tamen abiectae cervici infixi, coire
Tempore non possunt vulnera, plusque dolent ...³⁹

En otra ocasión contempla el éter sin nubes, infinito, que se pierde en lontananza — *supra vanescere credas* —. De pronto sus errantes ojos descubren una garza de suave blancura cortando el azul purísimo,

... animae similem, quae tandem libera vinculis
Altis albentes regionibus explicat alas!

Risueño símbolo para la mirada en lágrimas, solaz después de prolongado sufrimiento. Garza blanca que se quedará grabada en el rapsodo como fiel compañera en la senda poblada de aves agoreras y de tinieblas espesas⁴⁰. Tristeza interior que aparece con cierta frecuencia, aunque de manera fugaz. Otra vez una ninfa — de aquellas mitológicas — hace brotar de su lira maravilloso canto. Las nubes negras acumuladas a través de la vida se purifican con la luz del sol, el polvo de yertas ilusiones se cambia en rústicos vergeles ideales y de la nada surgen castillos encantados :

Nympha canit : multos nubes glomerata per annos
Albescit solis radiis, mutantur in hortos
Primaeva nostrae vestitae flore ruinae,
Dignaque caelicolis renovata palatia surgunt!⁴¹

³⁹ Ib., *Ver*, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Ib., *Augurium*, p. 41.

⁴¹ Ib., *Ad Amphiona*, p. 39.

La naturaleza, medicina de los males, liberación de las preocupaciones envuelve el alma; una sangre nueva comienza a circular por las venas del bardo; llega hasta la médula de los huesos con su calor; lo renueva, le colma de sus dones, hácese receptor de voces y murmullos; responde a la eterna armonía de la naturaleza con sus poemas ⁴². Es que Caro ha pasado mucho espacio de su infancia en la Sabana maravillosa al pie de abruptas montañas, de escondidos senderitos y manantiales musgosos, se ha familiarizado con

Secreti calles, montes, praeruptaque saxa,
Antrum frondosum, rivule iugis aquae,

que le dejaron honda huella de remembranzas, Días inocentes aquellos ... Hoy retorna al valle paterno. ¿Son estos los mismos rosales agrestes que de niño cortaba para hacer manojos, coronas, guirnaldas, o simplemente para deshojar los pétalos? ¡Qué bien recuerda el trueno de la cascada, el vientecillo que agitaba los árboles! ... Hoy, al retornar, ¡qué cambiado se siente él mismo! Es el varón cargado del peso de los años ... Sus palabras tienen el silencio de la melancolía de todo lo caduco cuando confiesa :

Rursus, at heu! quantum puero diversus ab illo,
Te, pede quam tardo, vallis amica, peto!
Tu viridis tamen et nullum violata per aevum,
Ut fueras olim, tempus in omne manes ⁴³.

Contempla el olmo coposo. Feliz extiende sus ramos protegiendo el suelo con sombra amiga; las aves buscan albergue para su nido y sus gorjeos. Yo también — piensa el vate — busco asilo a tu sombra,

Terrenasque vias, hospes et ipse, tero.

Contraste claro : el ágil pájaro, codicioso de amor, va y vuelve a su abierto hogar vegetal. En cuanto a mí,

Ad veterem truncum me residere decet.
Ille fovet nidos et dulces cantat amores;
En! queror amissos, ore silente, lares ⁴⁴.

Hay empero detalles, cosas humildes que descritas destilan un no sé qué de tristeza, de impotencia, de aspiración sublime. Es el caso de la

⁴² Ib., *Ad naturam*, p. 10.

⁴³ Ib., *Patria vallis*, p. 15.

⁴⁴ Ib., *Hospites duo*, p. 19.

yedra. Arranca del suelo. Aunque parezca serpentear en la tierra todo es un esfuerzo de superación :

Serpit humi primum, sed dum reptare videtur
Iam se tollere humo gestit et alta cupit,

pues no quiere bajar, no busca el alimento rastrero; que si bien es humilde, se siente creada para mayores cosas, sin mansión permanente en lo terreno. Por eso se agarra a un tronco vecino, se adhiere a él con uñas tenaces, trepa siempre más arriba. Pero ... no existe un cielo para los árboles, ni coronas de laurel para su esperanza. ¡Oh, si ella pudiera subir hasta el firmamento!

Illam siqua manus caelo demissa iuvaret!
Ut se tota domos ferret in aetherias!⁴⁵

También la flor tiene para el aedo su mensaje de intimidad. Flor de corta vida, delicada, sonrosada, con corona — *non spinis, sed multa fronde* — ¿por qué se creará insegura o tímida? ¿en qué estará soñando, o para quién destinará su aroma? ¿qué sentirá con el viento ligero, con las nubes errantes, con la fontanela de agua cristalina que murmura junto a ella, cabe la rosa hermana de encendidos colores o el rovoloteo de canoras avecillas? ¿qué amor oculto inquieta su paz?

Quis te secretus, floscule, turbat amor?

¡Locura mía! ¡Preguntar a las flores! ¡No recordaba que ellas no pueden hablar aunque quisieran!...

A demens, ex te qui talia quaerere tentem!
Vix tollis vultus nec tibi lingua datur⁴⁶.

Y así en otras ocasiones⁴⁷, como al describir el viento que va sembrando vida dondequiera, por quien florece el erial fecundado. Y el bardo reflexiona interiormente :

Spe quoque tu donas animos ceu munere divum,
Et quae languebat mens renovata viget⁴⁸.

Otro aspecto de la naturaleza que impresiona a Caro como lírico latino son los atardeceres. Tal el poemita *Ad Sidus Veneris*⁴⁹ o el *Aestivum*

⁴⁵ Ib., *Hedera*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Ib., *Flos*, p. 12.

⁴⁷ Ib., *Flores duo*, p. 43; *Ad puellum*, p. 52 ...

⁴⁸ Ib., *Ad ventulum*, p. 14.

⁴⁹ Ib., p. 22.

Crepusculum ⁵⁰, en que la descripción es severa, con brochazos de colorido y un dejo sentimental en el paisaje :

Cernis ibi arbores ramos nutare? profundo
Aerios credam capita inclinare gigantas.
Hesperus in puro micat aere, purior ipse,
Atque alio mundo, partim sed prodita nobis,
Solis ad occasum, divina Aurora refulget!

El lucero de la tarde le hace recordar que el poeta es un desterrado, un navegante errabundo, y que su luz lejana es un amor ultraterreno ⁵¹,

Emenso caelo cum sol se condit in undas,
Cum lentae veniunt aegris mortalibus umbrae,
Solamenque ferunt, et, vastus dum silet orbis ...

En esos instantes el pensamiento del bardo *regios nil curat honores*, sino la paz y la tranquilidad perdidas. La cabeza entonces se turba con recuerdos de la infancia feliz en que el amor de una dulce mujer reflorece — *tristi te funere, femina, solvis* — y en la que

Solus ego, invisus, facilisque errare retrorsum
Per campos mihi iam videor dulcesque latebras
Quas nimis a! novi primae sub flore iuventae ⁵².

El es su propia soledad, su propia noche; conoce sus propias tinieblas interiores, sus propios astros ⁵³ ... El campo, la vida despreocupada sin el ruido mundano tiene también otros atractivos para Caro, como la vieja casona de sus padres — *iucundum tectum* ⁵⁴ —, donde le acompaña la inspiración, donde espera alcanzar lo que no se niega a un peregrino cualquiera, donde le acompañará su amada, la de dulce expresión en el rostro, la de ojos de lucero,

Illa venit, caelum linquens, comitemque benigna
Paupere sub tecto non dedignata manentem,
Nocturnis vigili dea lampade praesidet horis ⁵⁵...

¿Y los animales? Ellos despiertan en Caro un eco de sentimiento delicado, humanísimo y sincero desde los más humildes — como el cocuyo —

⁵⁰ Ib., p. 18.

⁵¹ Ib., *Ad sidus idem*, p. 23.

⁵² Ib., *Recordatio*, p. 30.

⁵³ Ib., *Solitudo duplex*, p. 26.

⁵⁴ Ib., *Ad se ipsum*, p. 11.

⁵⁵ Ib., *Diva comes*, p. 40.

hasta los más poderosos. En una nota en prosa latina describe el cocuyo como un *ales brevissimus* (...), *qui noctu dum tacitus volitat, hinc illic, velut stella labens, lucem per aera mittit* ... ⁵⁶. En realidad cuando insectos mínimos vuelan en el gran piélago de la noche, *obscura minimae migrant sub nocte volantes, / ceu pelago pisces*, el humilde cocuyo tropical hermano de las luciérnagas brilla a trechos — *subito nitore* — y vuelve a desaparecer en el seno de la noche, *abderis atque iterum tenebris, iterumque coruscas*, que tal es su vida juguetona,

caecis tu conditus umbris
laberis exiguus ...

Los ojos humanos gozan con el inocente coleóptero que se ve huir, a la expectativa de mirar dónde asoma, adivinarlo luego y señalarlo de nuevo con el índice, mientras el insecto caprichoso los engaña a todos :

Intentis oculis lucem speculamur euntem,
Et quoties operis cursum, qua sit tibi rursus
Parte resurgendum caeli, mens praevideat, illum
Monstramusque locum digito : tu fallis hiantes,
Atque alibi longe redivivus in aere fulges.

Mas, al punto medita el bardo y piensa que el cocuyo es semejante al alma nacida en las alturas : como ella errando vas entre la noche, dice Caro, *et propria lustras secretos lampade tractus* ⁵⁷.

También las avecillas conmueven al poeta. Un pajarillo en la jaula le deja pensativo. “¡A rejas de oro y escogido grano / prefiero yo mi libertad nativa!”, diría el jilguero si pudiera expresarse con palabras humanas :

Reddite me silvis, molles sinite ire per umbras,
Atque aura liceat liberiore frui!

Así es la suerte de los mortales. El destino le acompaña dondequiera — *et certas dat comes inde vias* —. Unos, para ser felices en el mundo, otros para gemir en dura cárcel ... ⁵⁸

La paloma mensajera — *columbae portatrices* —, de instinto sagaz, infalible, fiel como la del arca, es descrita con rasgos seguros, de bella observación poética : Va a emprender el vuelo, se levanta, busca orien-

⁵⁶ Ib., *Ad « Cocuium »*, p. 21.

⁵⁷ Ib., p. 21.

⁵⁸ Ib., *Praedestinatio*, p. 20.

tación, contempla la tierra abajo, y lánzase como saeta en el espacio ... Así ha visto muchas almas, mensajeras del bien en el silencio, anunciadoras de la paz. Ojalá que

Nulla tuas pinnae commissae infausta profanent;
Nuntia pacis ades, candida vota gerat⁵⁹.

Y, a propósito de alturas y de vuelo, compara en otra ocasión el pensamiento a esas aves errantes que hienden el azul infinito⁶⁰.

Dos últimos ejemplos, por no alargarnos más. Sean una venadita domesticada, y un generoso can. En el primero, ¡con qué lujo de detalles delicados la describe cautiva en una mansión señorial! Tímido animalito que deja las huellas de sus gráciles cascos sobre los tapices al pasar olfateando inútilmente como quien busca hierbas y fuentes en la selva ...

Quam duris calcas pedibus peregrina tapetas
Et nare herbarum frustra perquiris odorem!
Te rursus lucos, te rursus visere fontes
Iam decet ...

Y, como es natural, no puede menos de interiorizar la cautiva tristeza que está viendo. Porque yo también, exclama, me siento prisionero y triste — *ipse etiam videor captivus et aeger* ... :

O! mihi si tecum fugere atque ingentibus umbris
Tecto, latratus hominum vitare liceret ...⁶¹

El can da oportunidad a Caro para una aguda observación política. Sale el perro, y no puede menos de encrespase, de erizarse porque al volver la esquina le esperan fieros rivales. Riñe el perro, avanza luego, para ver que en el puente le aguardan mil gozques apandillados. No les hace caso. Aquellos ladran, arman escándalo con ladridos. El can generoso prosigue su camino despreciándolos, que con bravos se bate el bravo y desdeña a los cobardes : *fortibus occurrit fortis, sed despicit istos*...⁶²

La poesía de Caro

Hemos tratado de sintetizar algunos aspectos salientes de Miguel

⁵⁹ Ib., *Columbae portatrices*, p. 164.

⁶⁰ Ib., *Cogitatio*, p. 61.

⁶¹ Ib., *Ad tenellam cervam domesticam*, p. 91.

⁶² Ib., *Astur canis*, p. 162.

Antonio Caro como poeta lírico. Y esto solamente al contacto con la naturaleza. Desde niño ha alimentado la poesía, herencia maravillosa de su padre José Eusebio. El mismo lo confiesa en la *Apologia de vita sua* cuando refiere que a medida que iba despertando a la vida — *crescenti* — le sonrieron las Musas — *risere Camenae* — como a su padre otrora — *ut patri quondam*, y nunca podría apartarse de aquellas sagradas fuentes :

Me vana ambitio numquam potuisset ab illis
Fontibus atque umbris dissociare sacris ⁶³.

Mas no es lo único. Largo sería el camino por recorrer. Que esas fuentes de inspiración de Caro son abundosas. La poesía latina ha sido para él un suave *duxque comesque viae* ⁶⁴. Pero en momentos de desánimo ha destruido en el fuego multitud de aquellos poemas latinos de su juventud, pues ¿para qué recordar eso que en los años verdes de la vida expresó en la lengua perenne de los clásicos? De viejo,

Tunc scripsisse piget! nam si solatia praebet,
Dum facili blandum manat ab ore melos,
Qualiter et flendo placide, sic dulce canendo
Egerere aerumnas pectora fracta solent,
Quid tamen a! misero iam mortua carmina prosunt?
Quae iuvenis cecini quid repetita iuvant?

Por eso, con la angustia de los años, y con el dolor de las lágrimas vividas, *flammis damnare papyros / decrevi, arsurum constituique focum*. Mas, ¡oh dolor! mientras ve la páginas de versos volar en cenizas por el aire, contempla un grupo de niños que juegan entretenidos en el campo. Las volutas del humo parecen gritarle al oído : como estos niños, así de sus versos más íntimos podría decirse que

En tua progenies, quondam carissima! natos
Quamvis incompitos, quis neget esse suos?
... Ne, pater, a! iterum sis nominis immemor huius;
Hoc, pater, hoc unum, parce, precamur, eis! ...

Y conmovido, recoge las últimas hojas. Ellas le acompañarán en adelante como restos de aquella catástrofe personal :

O dulces mecum vivite reliquiae! ⁶⁵

⁶³ Ib., *Cygneus cantus sive poetae iam senis apologia de vita sua*, p. 93.

⁶⁴ Ib., *Elegia*, p. 3, v. 1.

⁶⁵ Ib., p. 3, vv. 7-12; p. 4, vv. 19-20; 29-30; p. 5, vv. 57-58; 62.

Traduce al latín diversos poemas

No se agota con esto la inspiración latina de Caro. Bastaría echar una ojeada al Índice de las *Poesías latinas* editadas por el Instituto Caro y Cuervo de Bogotá para darse cuenta de la variedad temática y métrica, y del número de tales composiciones : 53 en el libro I, 52 en el II, 67 en el III, 17 en el Apéndice I. Fuera de esto una versión al latín de la célebre *Canción a las ruinas de Itálica* del Licenciado Rodrigo Caro, precedida de una erudita introducción de 127 páginas en elegante prosa asimismo latina, y copiosas notas en el mismo idioma (casi 60 páginas) a los 102 versos del original castellano. Libro que “*tamquam specimen prodit maioris operis, varia ac plura poemata complectentis e diversis linguis a me Latinis versibus reddita et notis illustrata*” ⁶⁶

Por otra parte, Caro que bien conoce ser la lengua romana el veterano canal de la cultura, lengua plena todavía de vitalidad en el mundo sabio, quiere verter en latín otros poetas de otras lenguas — *Latinae Interpretationes sive Carmina e poetis praecipue Hispanis, tum Italis, Gallis, Anglis, Latine reddita* — inspirado en el verso de Chénier que señala como epígrafe,

Sur des penses nouveaux faisons des vers antiques,

Porque Miguel Antonio Caro, humanista y erudito, conoce que de este modo el mundo sabio podrá leer poemas “dignos de la inmortalidad” de autores gigantes, como Garcilaso, Villegas, Argensola, Quevedo, Calderón, Fray Luis, Bello, Caro padre, Peña, Dante, Manzoni, Zorella, Chénier, Sully Prudhomme, Moro, Payne, Longfellow ... Vertidos en latín se hacen del dominio universal para los literatos de todas las naciones : porque el vate colombiano ha escogido flores de todos los huertos,

Floridula hinc illinc et dulcia carmina legi ⁶⁷...

Caro cree en la misión unificadora del latín ,que no está sujeto a limitaciones — *nullo circumscriptum loco* —; y si a algunos pareciere lengua muerta, *tamen per literas communicatur, in libris stabilis viget; qui idem linguarum omnium mutuus interpres et inter literatissimos homines excul-*

⁶⁶ M. A. Caro, *La Canción a las Ruinas de Itálica del Licenciado Rodrigo Caro. Con Introducción, Versión Latina y Notas por M.A.C.* Publicadas por J. M. Rivas Sacconi, Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo (Bogotá, 1947). Cf. *Prolegomena* I, p. 4.

⁶⁷ M. A. Caro, *Versiones latinas*, p. 13.

tasque civitates etiam nunc pro communi vinculo habetur ⁶⁸. ¡Qué medio más culto para immortalizar, universalizando, los autores de todas las lenguas!

Largo sería en esta ocasión presentar los aciertos, la deliciosa armonía, la concisa precisión tan difícil en el vigor macizo del latín sin un dominio perfecto de la lengua — *nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus / interpres* ⁶⁹ —, de la métrica y del pensamiento ajeno, expresado a su vez en lengua extraña. Mérito sin duda de Miguel Antonio Caro, y del humanismo colombiano que, en buena hora, vió nacer este titán de la poesía moderna en el severo ropaje clásico de un nuevo cónsul. Porque bien pudo Caro, varón excepcional “en su tiempo y en su patria”, ser colega otrora de Marco Tulio Cicerón por su elocuente elegancia, por la aguda penetración jurídica de su oratoria política; romano de temperamento, él nos recuerda a Catón de Utica; y en el dulce sentido de la naturaleza no encuentra más cordial amigo que Virgilio de Mantua con quien su nombre está ligado para siempre en las letras hispánicas.

4. Otros poetas en latín (s. XIX y XX)

Caro, con ser una potente voz lírica de la poesía latina colombiana en el siglo XIX y comienzos del presente, no es el único. Verdad que él confiesa que

Hispanos versus dum tento fingere, ludor;
E calamo tantum verba Latina fluunt ⁷⁰,

pero sin esa misma facilidad aunque siguiendo su ejemplo, por esos mismos caminos han peregrinado también nombres notables, si bien no rayan a su misma altura. Que hayan, pues, publicado composiciones métricas de auténtica inspiración y merezcan el nombre de poetas pueden citarse el P. TEÓDULO VARGAS, S.J. (1844-1911), quien dedica al *Perinclito viro Michaeli Antonio Caro Columbianae Reipublicae moderatori Camoenarum carissimo* uno de sus varios poemas, que comienza :

Ecce iam fuscum reboat per altum
Fulmen, et largi glomerantur imbres;
Iam sinus tellus resoluta, verna
Munera pandit ⁷¹...

⁶⁸ M. A. Caro, *La Canción*, p. 5.

⁶⁹ Horacio, *Ars Poetica*, vv. 133-134.

⁷⁰ M. A. Caro, *Poesías latinas*, p. 158 (*Musa Latina*, vv. 1-2).

⁷¹ « In mensem Marianum », *Horizontes, Revista quincenal dirigida por Padres de la Compañía de Jesús* (Colegio de San Pedro Claver, Bucaramanga, 1915), III, p. 14.

Con él mencionemos a ALEJANDRO GALVIS (1910-1946) y CARLOS HILARIO CURREA (1879-1942) de la Compañía de Jesús, hábil metrificador,

Non mihi grande tibi licuit cecinisse poema
At rapido calamo suscipe versiculos ⁷²,

de suavidad religiosa y abundante vena. Canta una vez a la Virgen de Chiquinquirá, Patrona de su patria, y en versos conmovidos interpreta a todo el pueblo ⁷³ :

Virgo telluris rosa pulchra nostrae
arte cui templum celebri renitet
Tu decus nostrum columnenque firmum
Tu bona Mater.

In rudi lino radiis coruscam
caelitus formam renovas decoram,
Filiis praebens generosa caris
Pignora vitae.

Surgit ignitis decorata gemmis
angulo ex omni Patriae corona,
Fervido et frontem tenerum Parentis
Cingit amore.

Ecce Reginam, vocitante turba,
dum choros ducunt pueri canentes,
Te pio gestit celebrare cultu
terra Columbi.

Saeve iam nostram minitatur unda
pellere in duros scopulos carinam,
tende tu sceptrum, bona Mater, alnum
aequora mulcens.

En fremunt late iuga non ferentes
Sacra qui tentant dare iura pessum;
Patriam serva, furibunda in Orcum
bella retrudens.

Candidos flores humus ista gignat,
queis tuae sacrae decorantur arae,
arte materna generare possit
lilia pura.

⁷² « Epistola ad admodum ill. virum R. M. Carrasquilla », *Horizontes* (1915), II, p. 329.

⁷³ *Breviarium Romanum* : Proprium Dit. Columb., 9 Iul.

Sit tibi, Iesu, Moderator Orbis,
 nostra quem Regem cecinere iura
 cum Patre Divo, decus omne dante,
 Flamine sceptrum.

5. Daniel Restrepo, S.J.

El P. Daniel Restrepo, S.J. (1871-1962), notable por las oportunas alcaicas que componía para las más diversas ocasiones, merece un corto estudio. De él se conservan setenta y cinco composiciones latinas. La mayor parte podrían clasificarse en dos grandes divisiones : *Carmina religiosa* y *Carmina pro opportunitate sive in personas*. En las primeras resalta el fervor místico, el hondo sentido teológico. Restrepo es un hombre de sentimiento profundo, delicado; es afectuoso y es erudito; conoce la lengua de los romanos como el que más, y sin demasiado léxico sin embargo logra expresar lo que quiere. Da la impresión de que no ha tenido que elaborar mucho los versos, y aun de que está jugando con ellos, al estilo de Pentadio :

Me sine, Virgo Parens, turbare silentia noctis,
 Ac penetrare specum me sine, Virgo Parens!
 Servulus iste miser cunas accedere Nati
 Audet, amore flagrans servulus iste miser ...⁷⁴

En varias composiciones tiene cierto vuelo lírico con asomos de suave poesía. Cuando ha pasado las fronteras de los 85 años cantará al Fundador de su Orden, al príncipe soberano, apóstol glorioso, varón fuerte y honra de los que mandan, luchador que dió a la Iglesia de Cristo una caballería ligera ... Herido gloriosamente en un castillo el militar se siente atraído a mejores combates, abandona su pegujal paterno, dedica a la Madre de Dios su Compañía y con el auxilio de Ella se lanza a extender la Gloria de Dios :

Excelse princeps, inclute apostole,
 Loiola fortis, gloria praesulum,
 Qui Ecclesiae Christi cohortem
 4 Bellipotens validam dedisti!

.....

⁷⁴ *Cantus Praeseptii* : Las poesías latinas completas del P. Restrepo serán publicadas próximamente por el Instituto Caro y Cuervo, en edición crítica dirigida por M. Briceño Jáuregui, S.J.

- 10 Dum glorioso vulnere saucius
 Te sentiebas allici et attrahi
 A Rege Christo qui benigne
 Te revocat potiora ad arma,

 Vallem paternam linquis ut Abraham :
 Sacras Mariae militiam novam
 15 Ipsaque contendis favente
 Regna Dei cumulare laude ...⁷⁵

Dos sucesos más le han llegado muy al alma : la celebración de sus *bodas de platino* de vida religiosa, y las *de oro* de su Unción Sacerdotal. La emoción del anciano, en la primera es impresionante : una breve mirada retrospectiva al camino andado, en que no sobra una partícula ni falta un ápice. Densidad, madurez, sublimidad. Daría escrúpulo desintegrar los sonoros alcaicos, porque cada palabra tiene algo que contar en el contexto :

Bis sena cerno lustra fragrantia
 Fulgore Caeli; pauper et impotens ...

Da la sensación de quien sentado en un alto de la vía, cana la cabeza del rudo laborar, contempla agradecido las horas, los días y los años, el rico sembradío, los brazos vigorosos — ahora entecos — que lo araron, las vigiliass que le fatigaron los ojos, las recias faenas, los cardos triturados, los roncoss nubarrones ..., todo descrito con rapidez masculina, que viene a terminar — arrancado del corazón — con un grito de esperanza y de fe :

Iam prata fulgent florida Patriae;
 Palmeta Sion respicio prope;
 Caelestis Eden vox et aurae
 Me recreant placido rumore ...⁷⁶

El estilo descriptivo del P. Daniel Restrepo es directo y simple; carece de galas imaginativas o de detalles redundantes. Bastaría leer *Sanguis Christi effusus*, *Rosarii Mystera* y otros. Hay también ocasiones en que la hondura del pensamiento y la intensidad de la emoción mística obnubilan y secan la expresión formal. Diríamos que son enjambre de ideas, páginas de teología, la oración de un erudito, más que poesía propiamente dicha. Pero a veces estalla en esta el sentimiento contenido

⁷⁵ « Loiola », *Gymnasium, de linguis selectis commentarii*, fasc. XXIX (Bogotá, mense agosto 1962), 48.

⁷⁶ *In sexagesimo anniversario ingressus mei in Soc. Iesu.*

y se revela íntegro el hombre de Dios, de carne y hueso, que domina la rebelde métrica latina para hacerla suya :

Regina, Virgo Parens! Tu pia, Tu potens,
Me servum miserum protege, dirige,
Ut Te conspiciens et Domini et Tuam
Possim pangere gloriam! ⁷⁷

Una de las características de Restrepo son sus versos de ocasión. Un día, por ejemplo, da la bienvenida a un ilustre prelado colombiano. Bondadoso, cargado de méritos en muchos años de vida pastoral, lleno de perenne juventud del alma, su cabellera cana — laureles en las sienes — hace contraste con la frescura de los estudiantes que le agasajan. Ejemplo maravilloso de una vida entregada al apostolado sacerdotal, al heroísmo. Es, pues, un saludo afectuoso. Séate, ilustre señor, grato nuestro homenaje :

Te salutamus, venerande Praesul,
Cuius exaltant placidam iuventam
Fulgidi cani, redimita lauro
Tempora et ornant.

Cuius experti sumus usque amores;
Cuius exemplum cumulat colendi
Nomen Herois ... : precor, haec Iuventus
Sit tibi grata! ⁷⁸

En otra ocasión el episcopado de Colombia se ha reunido en ágape familiar. No pueden faltar los versos latinos de congratulación del P. Restrepo. Invoca al Espíritu santo sobre aquellos pastores del rebaño de Cristo.

... Unde, fraterno comitante amore
Sub tuis alis habitant, COLUMBA;
Gestiunt natis Tuo in Ore capta
Fundere rora ...

Pero se han roto las madrigueras y andan sueltos los lobos con piel fingida :

Ast lupi erumpunt stygiis latebris,
Qui vafri pelles referunt ovinas;
Qui solum lambunt, simulantque puram
Religionem ... ⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *B.M. in caelum ...*

⁷⁸ *In exc. mum D.D.L. Medina, episcopum.*

⁷⁹ *Salvete, Principes.*

Y así prosigue el poema cada vez con más inspiración sagrada y nuevos toques de palpitante actualidad. Otra vez es un sacerdote amigo, compañero en largas lides de apostolado quien ha cumplido su jubileo sacerdotal. Para él — Rafael Toro, S.J. — tiene un canto de alegría. Refiere su vida, desde niño; v.g., de Ezequiel — su tío abuelo — recuerda cariñoso :

Te ingenuum puerum rexit avunculus, aras
Exemplo insinuans, gaudia sacra docens,
EZECHIEL, mystes clarus populique magister,
Sanguinis exsistens gloria, TAURE, tui ...

Y hace un recuento de sus labores espirituales por la salvación de sus hermanos, hasta que ha llegado este día en que sus ojos están cansados; sin embargo,

Quod si deficiant oculi, tibi lumine VERBI
Divinum dabitur posse videre Iubar ...⁸⁰

La muerte ha visitado a un su compañero de muchos años. Ha fallecido en paz el P. Juan María Restrepo. Para él sentidas estrofas horacianas :

Caelum petentem te cuperem sequi,
Dulcis IOHANNES : tot mihi vinculis
Coniuncte, constante et fideli
Nec simili superando amore!

... Sed mox vocaris : pergere ad Angelos,
Queis par fuisti, te Dominus iubet,
Illisque iuncto iam licebit
Perpetuum canere Alleluia! ⁸¹

Mas, volvamos a los vivos. Una despedida. ¡ Qué solo queda el caserón!...

Quam suscitasti magnificam domum,
Cuius beatos rexeris incolas,
Nunc deseris moestam, paterno
Quae remanet viduata visu ...⁸²

Y una bienvenida. Hospedaje a dos obispos amigos, *Mystici Pylades atque Orestes* :

⁸⁰ *Congratulemur.*

⁸¹ *Iohannes Maria.*

⁸² *Orphani.*

CHRYSANTHE Princeps, Impiger ANGELE,
 Nobis qui honorem nunc datis hospites :
 Salvare vos laeti iubemus,
 Rite manus labiis prementes ...

O un cumpleaños en que se invita al homenajeado a acompañarlo al campo, a disfrutar de la alegría de la casa de vacaciones y del paisaje nevado del "Tolima" en "San Claver" :

Te videns acris rutilat iuventa;
 Gestiant laudem decorare campi;
 Balneum invitat; trepidant opimo
 Ubere vaccae.

Pasceris malo citrino, banana;
 Ambulans, auris frueris benignis
 Niveo dum te recreat "Tolima"
 Culmine princeps.

Atra curarum dubiumque mordens
 Parce sectari memor : ast alacri
 Mente, "Claveris" placidis in arvis
 Oro, quiescas! ⁸³

Quisiera así mismo celebrar a un gran maestro de la juventud, al inolvidable P. Félix Restrepo, S.J., pero siente que ya le faltan las fuerzas y la inspiración, que no la buena voluntad :

... At lux senescit, Calliope tacet ...
 Quae verba possent nominis incluti
 Aequare lucem, aut gloriosa
 LUSTRA DECEM celebrare digne?

Sic crassa avena, non gracili canam
 Quam silva mater Vergilio dedit;
 Sint munus herbarum coronae
 Quas humiles decorent myricae ...

... Fulgens modeste Sol Academiae :
 Et si illa honores et solium negat,
 Eius decus summamque laudem
 Te venerans America clamat ⁸⁴.

Un último aspecto que quisiéramos resaltar en la inspiración del jesuita Restrepo es la sensibilidad. Los versos religiosos no eran fáciles

⁸³ *Descende in hortulos.*

⁸⁴ *Magistri laus.*

para dar rienda suelta al sentimiento, aunque sí mostraban una latente vena sutil. Los poemas de ocasión, recitados en público, improvisados muchas veces, se prestan menos para ello. Mas algunas notas de sus apuntes privados nos abren un ligero resquicio. Se veía al anciano por los corredores de la casa de estudios en Bogotá, bastón en mano, embebido en oración. Nadie sabía de posibles tristezas interiores. Dos dísticos a lápiz en cualquier papelillo nos guían un poco mar adentro. En efecto, amargo debe de ser para un viejo, al hacerse la barba por las mañanas, ver caer de su rostro la blancura ... Mientras en ese mismo victorioso hay tantos jóvenes ... Doloroso optimismo el que manifiesta Daniel Restrepo de sentirse joven entre ellos :

Qui decies annos octo isto in carcere vixi,
Dum mihi tondenti candida barba cadit :
Tot iuvenes cernens iuvenescere sentio mentem,
Tot pueros inter iudicor ipse puer...

Octogenario, le impresiona sobremanera la pérdida de la vista, y con los años la sequedad y aridez poética :

Visus senescit; Calliope fugit;
Sperare caeci parcite carmine ...⁸⁵

6. Otros metrificadores

Imposible enumerar todos los que han compuesto ocasionales versos latinos. Mencionemos siquiera a los franciscanos ANACLETO ACEBEDO, JUAN DE JESÚS ANAYA y GREGORIO ARCILA ROBLEDO : de este es un apólogo delicado pese al protagonista *Porcus in Thymeto* :

Sus cum lutosus conculcaret unguibus
Amoeni prati thyma perquam fragrantia,
Blanda herba misit pro vindicta bestiae,
Quam inebriavit, fluctus multi aromatis.

Vir iustus probris respondere consulat
Venia fideli, spiritu dulcissimo ⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ *Carmina caeci*.

Otras poesías publicadas : « Sonsoniae Civitati gratulemur », *Gymnasium*, fasc. XXXV (mense Decembri 1964), 65; « El latin perenne », *Thesaurus*, IX (Bogotá, 1953), 294-297 : 1) *Salve, divina senectus*; 2) *Claver*; 3) *Chrysanthema*; 4) *Quare me dereliquisti?* — « Sacerdos (elegia) », *Id.*, XI (1955-56), 199; « Amor : cycneus cantus », *Id.*, XVII (1962), 144.

⁸⁶ *Gymnasium*, Commentarium Bossensi in Seminario Claretiano tertio quoque mense editum, 2 (1951), 88.

Los padres claretianos han cultivado con positivo orgullo las letras clásicas y, en nuestra patria, han sobresalido poetas latinos de buena inspiración religiosa. EFREN MARÍA BELTRAN (1916-), por ejemplo, escribe *Dulce Perfugium*, suave poemilla a la Virgen María :

Sicut navis ego percita remigans
Per motum pelagum, temporibus frequens;
Tu Virgo Genetrix, Nauta vigil, ratem
Tu duces gracilem meam!

Nam si forte maris concutiat furor
Navique immineat naufragium pati,
Consulto moderans blanda manus tua,
Quam portum reteget pia! ...⁸⁷

Así mismo OCTAVIO M. CUÉLLAR (1931-1968), GUILLERMO LASERNA VILLEGAS (1913-) y otros. Y entre los traductores de felices aciertos figuran FRANCISCO CEBALLOS y LUIS BARRERA (1930-), todos ellos claretianos. La célebre oda a la *Vida retirada* del clásico Fray Luis de León ha encontrado acertada interpretación en *Secessus* de Ceballos :

Ille quam felix hominum tumultus
Qui fugit tutus sequiturque tectam
Quam viam pauci tenuere docti
Qui ante fuerunt!

Eius haud pectus ciet intumescens
Principum sors, nec stupet ille tecto
Aureo quod fit sapiente mauro
Iaspide factum.

.....
Quid mihi prodest digito si inani
Indicor? Si aura populari anhelus
Tristibus curis crucior diuque
Nubibus angor?

Dulcis o mons, rus fluviusque fonsque!
O loci tuti, placidi! Benignos
Vos peto! Expellit maris unda, navi
Heu! prope quassa! ⁸⁸

LUIS A. BARRERA, C.M.F. vierte armoniosamente la *Despedida de la Patria*, cargada del sentimiento profundo que su autor don José Eusebio

⁸⁷ *Gymnasium*, 1 (1950), 66.

⁸⁸ *Gymnasium*, 1 (1950), 28.

Caro derramara en el poema. En efecto, el proscrito, reclinado en la alta popa del bajel que huye veloz, mira alejarse los montes, y palpa la amargura del destierro, del pan suplicado de puerta en puerta; solo pedía a su patria una tumba que él mismo cavaba cada día ... Ahora lleva consigo, para respirar el perfume de la patria, un tierno ramo de un naranjo en flor que cubrirá sus huesos cuando él muera ... Así termina, y el intérpreto latino termina así también :

Auriferi viridem colo ramum stipitis urna
 Albis qui redolet Tellurem floribus almam;
 Ille meum tumulum funebrem condet et umbris
 Postremo dum mortis tranquille requiescam
 Et summo placidae sopitus murmure frondis.
 Extremum vale, carior o mea pectore tellus,
 Nondum te potero, nondum te spernere, Salve! ⁸⁹

De los padres de la Congregación de la Misión imposible olvidar al erudito ALFONSO M. NAVIA (1887-1941), editor de la revista *Latina Fides* (Tunja, 1940), quien en la dedicatoria de su obra *La Pronunciación Clásica del Latín* ⁹⁰ ofrece a Tunja su libro :

Iam quater secli moriente luce,
 Palladis cultrix, tibi, clara Tunqua,
 Abs tuis arvis religata sarta
 Porrigit auctor.

Y en un ofrecimiento personal de un ejemplar suyo escribe textualmente :

Hic, Pater, invenies rutilis diadema lapillis,
 Quos rapuit Latio gnavus arator humo;

dedicatoria que encarna toda una vida de consagración al estudio e investigación de la lengua divina de los romanos.

Los presbíteros LUIS CALIXTO LEYVA (más tarde obispo) (1891-1939), LUIS JORGE TEJEIRO (°1885), JUAN CRISÓSTOMO GARCÍA (1883-1967), ROBERTO JARAMILLO ARANGO (1881-1965), FRANCISCO LONDOÑO, y lo señores RICARDO DE FRANCISCO (°1849), JORGE WILLS PRADILLA (†1938), ROBERTO RESTREPO (1897-1965), MARCOS LOMBO CANO (1871-1936) y algunos más, todos de la vieja escuela. Lombo Cano publica vertido en

⁸⁹ *Gymnasium*, 4 (1953), 104.

⁹⁰ A. M. Navia, *La pronunciación clásica del latín. Estudio de crítica fonética sobre la pronunciación que estuvo de uso durante la edad de oro, su aplicación al latín moderno como lengua hablada* (Bogotá, Escuelas Gráficas Salesianas, 1939).

hexámetros latinos la célebre arenga del “prebistero” José Domingo Choquehuanca, “cura de Pucará, en el alto Perú” al Libertador Simón Bolívar : “Quiso Dios formar de salvajes un imperio, y creó a Manco Capac”,

Silvestrum cupiens hominum ingens condere regnum,
Praefecit Deus imperio Manco Capac illi.

“Pecó su raza y lanzó a Pizarro”,

Progenies heu! deliquit, tunc tradidit ipsam
Pizarro cupido ...

“Después de tres siglos de expiación ha tenido piedad de la América, y os ha creado a vos. Sois, pues, el hombre de un designio providencial”,

Poenas tria saecula postquam
Expendit sceleris, clementia denique nostri
Quum miseresceret, arcessivit te. Vir es ergo,
Quem miro Omnipotens operi extulit absolvendo.

Y así continúa el discurso. La versión no es un prodigio de soltura, de agilidad latina, ni de dominio verbal; pero se le considera modelo de concisión por estar lograda en menor número de palabras que el original ⁹¹. Lombo escribió también un himno *Christo regi*, en 350 hexámetros ⁹².

La producción poética latina del presbítero ANTONIO JOSÉ LÓPEZ no es muy abundante pero es exquisita. Sólo emplea la estrofa sáfica y el dístico elegíaco. Su inspiración es por lo general religiosa y de circunstancia. Sin mucha riqueza y variedad de léxico, hay en él facilidad y sonora armonía de ordinario, con aciertos agradables. Se dirige una vez *Ad sedulos latinitatis discipulos* y, entre los muchos consejos que les da como *grammaticae dux studii* que comes les dice que

Carmina non omnis qui docte scandere scivit
Tunc ideo sapiens sive poeta fuit.

y les repite lo que tantas veces les habría explicado en clase, que

⁹¹ *Revista del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, XXVI (Bogotá, 1931), 156-157.

⁹² J. M. Rivas Sacconi, *El Latín en Colombia*, p. 432, n. 42.

Hoc quoque scribenti monitum lex porrigit ipsa.
 Syntaxim servet, servet et omne decus.
 Denique carminibus verborum copia praesit,
 Lingua ut noscatur quam solet esse fluens!⁹³

Y así continúa, sin mucha inspiración dada la temática desarrollada pero con dócil frescura de maestro. En otros poemillas derrama cierto sentimiento moderado, *verbi gratia* en un *Epicedium* con motivo de la muerte de su antiguo profesor de latín :

Alma dum caeli tibi lumen offert
 Stella qua Christus meritum revelat,
 Fletibus carum populus sepulcrum
 Spargit amaris.

Affatim luget memorans ministrum
 Laude qui Jesum cecinit beata
 Quique ferventem monuit fideles
 Ducere vitam (...) ⁹⁴;

o en una elegía *In morte Dni. Max. Troech*, que comienza :

Plaudite corde probam quam laudo carmine vitam
 Justi cui semper praefuit omne decus ...⁹⁵;

o en una bienvenida a un ilustre prelado ausente muchos años de la patria :

Ultimis, ex illis qui te venerantur amicis,
 Hoc tibi pergaudens carmine dicit "ave".
 In patriam rediens, ejusdem suscipe vota,
 Nam, licet incomptis, versibus ipsa canit ⁹⁶...

Escribe también epitafios, como el bellísimo a la memoria de su buena madre :

Quem colis, mater, Domini canendo
 Laeta sis laudes; sobolesque terris
 Flens alit lentum cinerum precante
 Murmure somnum! ⁹⁷

⁹³ « Admonitio », en : Antonio José Lopez, *Su mejor obra*. Biblioteca de Autores Caldenses, vol. 36 (Manizales, 1972), pp. 322 sqq.

⁹⁴ A. J. López, *Su mejor obra*, p. 338.

⁹⁵ Ib., p. 342.

⁹⁶ Ib., p. 354 : *Ad excell. Archiep. D.J. Emm. González in patriam redeuntem*.

⁹⁷ Ib., p. 358.

Un cultor más de la poesía latina puede ser el presbítero JUAN PABLO MEJIA. Precisamente el poeta anterior hace su defensa : “¿Que cuáles son sus credenciales? Haber sido profesor de latinidad en nuestro seminario; haber hecho pocas pero muy acabadas estrofas latinas, cuya publicidad rechazó y rechazará su excesiva modestia (...) y, sobre todo, el seguro acierto con que sondea las más arduas dificultades clásicas, la castellana prosa con que traduce y el apasionado fervor con que siempre ha estudiado a Virgilio ...”⁹⁸ Finalmente, han metrificado con cierta facilidad y armonía EDUARDO CÁRDENAS (1926-), WLADIMIRO ESCOBAR (1922-) y ALBERTO MÚNERA (1937-), de la Compañía de Jesús. Múnera en su libro *Recuerdo y Ofertorio* incorpora varios poemillas latinos en uno de los cuales interpreta la fugacidad de la vida como la viera Horacio :

Vates latinus praeteritos dies
Lapsu fugaces, indomitos gyro,
Tristissimos rugis senectae
Carminibus rutilis reportat.

Et mortis atrae tunc tenebras timens
Dolore cantus intrepido patrat :
Bis nomen adducens, amicum
Voce vocat moriturus ipse.

Delapsa contra nos merito quidem
Ornamus altis tempora laudibus;
Iuventa nobis sempiterna :
Cordis enim numeramus annos ...⁹⁹

Y en el difícil campo de la versión de lenguas modernas en el latín perenne¹⁰⁰ también se ha ejercitado el autor del presente estudio. Algunas de estas han sido publicadas en THESAURVS del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, principalmente versiones de autores hispanoamericanos y europeos. Basten dos ejemplos : Sea el primero *The Country of the Camisards* de R. L. Stevenson cuyo original es como sigue :

We travelled in the print of olden wars;
yet all the land was green :
and love we found, and peace,
where fire and the war had been.

⁹⁸ Ib., p. 363.

⁹⁹ Alberto Múnera, *Recuerdo y Ofertorio* (Bogotá, 1967), p. 143 : *Fuga temporum*.

¹⁰⁰ Un ejemplo Colombiano : *Ad Popaianum*. Carmen Gulielmi Valenciae, poetae Columbiani « A Popayán » : versio latina (Popayán, Editorial de la Universidad del Cauca, 1952). Otras poesías y versiones de esto poeta en *Gymnasium* 3-5 (1952-54).

They pass and smile, the children of the sword —
 no more the sword they wield;
 and, o, how deep the corn
 along the battlefield!

La versión latina, hecha por el autor del presente trabajo es esta :

Bellorum terimus veterum vestigia nostris
 Passibus, at temere rura benigna virent :
 Quo bellum inlatum, Pax illucescit amoena,
 Quo flamma et cineres, fervidus ardet amor.
 Os risu — mirum! — proles movet horrida pugnīs;
 Ambulat, interea en ensis ubique silet.
 Sed frugum gravidis tellus flavescit aristis
 Quam foecundarunt funus et arma prius! ¹⁰¹

José Santos Chocano, el gran poeta peruano (1875-1934) describe atrevidamente con imaginación superior la Cordillera de los Andes con sus volcanes y sus nevados eternos : la traducción latina del autor de estas notas dice :

Serpens ut quondam caelatus marmore nudus
 Qui duris torquet Laocoonta modis,
 Sic nervis Andes apparent, aspera moles
 Bracchia in ingenti corpore celsa serens.
 Cor trepidans animumque agitat metuenda videri
 Firmorum membris improba turba deum.
 Monte nimirum nituntur culmina saxi
 Ceu clypeis, velut ac casside pulchra nitent ...¹⁰²

Un último ejemplo del mismo traductor podría tomarse de la *Epopéya de la Espiga* de Aurelio Martínez Mutis, y publicada en THESAURVS ¹⁰³ como las anteriores. Tomemos un fragmento nada más, de la descripción de la samaritana cuando en el pasaje evangélico el Señor descansa fatigado junto al pozo de Jacob :

... Tunc hydriam portans, eborisque coloris ocellos
 Alliciens, plenaque tumens virtute mamillas,
 Accessit speciosa superbi corporis arte
 Femina, veste nitens, ex vallo, subnigra vultum.
 Quam blandus verbis Salvator aquam rogabat.
 Haec contra — quondam dissensu ducta parentum —

¹⁰¹ *Thesaurus*, 19 (1964), 571-577.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*.

¹⁰³ 24 (1969), 93-102.

Aspera : 'Cur, Hebraee, a me nunc expetis, inquit,
 Ex Samaria?'. — "Utinam, respondit, femina, noris
 Quem poscit, certe comis nec dura fuisses,
 Qui lymphæ, mulier, viventi te cumularet".
 Atque loquax : "Domine, est puteus", mox protulit, "altus
 Nec haurire vales". Cui Rabbi : "Gutturæ languet
 Rursus qui praeceps gelidas hic hauserit undas.
 Quos vero latices impertiar Ipse, libarit
 — Haud obscura loquor — satiabitur omne per aevum ...

 Secum peccatrix versans, vestigia torquet
 Tectaque lustrat : sed manet alta mente repostum
 Sane quod docuit verbo obtutuque Redemptor ...¹⁰⁴

Finalmente, de la inspiración personal del mismo autor citemos dos estrofas de un canto al joven Luis Gonzaga, patrono de la juventud :

... Corpus nam subigens acer et impetus
 Et mentis variae propositum anxium,
 Nos vitae docuit perpetuum statum
 Contemptis levitatibus.

 Vitam magnanimam fratribus obtulit
 Cum labes ubicumque effera gentibus
 Fragrabat, pueris victima concidens
 exemplum est vehementibus ...

He ahí una visión somera de la Poesía en latín en Colombia.

Bogotá
Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.
Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

¹⁰⁴ Otras versiones publicadas en *Thesaurus*, 16 (1961), 499-501; 22 (1967), 478-481.

Leo M. KAISER

THE UNPUBLISHED *ORATIO* OF JOHN LEVERETT,
HARVARD, 1689

Commencement exercises at Harvard in 1689 were celebrated on 11 September with due ceremony even though President Increase Mather was absent in England¹ and the traditional Latin address had to be given by another. Though the records do not state who spoke, two persons were logical choices for the honor : John Leverett² or William Brattle³. They constituted the entire teaching staff, and in Mather's absence the governing board of the College along with Treasurer John Richards⁴. It seems pretty clear, however, from a comparison of the style of the address with that of others by him⁵, that Leverett delivered the oration.

By some chance the text of the oration which the fourteen graduates heard that day was fated not to survive very long intact. This we know immediately from a comment placed by Leverett above his transcription of it in his manuscript diary⁶, in which he refers to the oration as a

¹ Mather was in England from 1688 to 1692. Cf. Samuel E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), 2. 483 ff.

² 1662-1724. A. B. Harvard 1680; President of Harvard, 1708-1724. Cf. John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 3 (Cambridge, 1885), 180-98, and Samuel E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 53-75.

³ 1662-1717; A. B. Harvard 1680. Cf. Sibley 3.200-207.

⁴ Cf. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 2. 504-509.

⁵ Latin addresses by Leverett for Commencements and special occasions survive, dated 1686, 1703, 1708, 1711, 1712 and 1722. The present writer has edited those of 1686, 1708 and 1711 : (1) "Seventeenth Century American Latin Prose : John Leverett's Welcome to Governor Sir Edmund Andros", *Manuscripta*, 18 (1974), 30-37; (2) "A President Accepts. By J. L., Harvard College", *The Classical Outlook*, 52 (1974), 40-41; (3) « J.L. and the Quebec Expedition of 1711 : An Unpublished Latin Oration », *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 22 (1974), 309-316.

⁶ Preserved in the Harvard University Archives. The present edition derives from an electrostatic copy of the address of 1689.

fragment plucked from the rubbish, while at the end of sixteen pages he states that the rest is missing. Perhaps a final third had disappeared.

The substantial portion that has survived proves to be a very good example of early American Latin oratory⁷, though like many a commencement address its content is fairly predictable. Leverett, after a lengthy confession of his diffidence before his illustrious audience, recounts in detail how God has blessed New England's undertakings with political freedom and with enlightened statesmen. He relates how yet other men, equally enlightened, proceeded to establish schools, which he vehemently defends as a strong support of the State, even though some attack or neglect them or favor more practical education with its material rewards. He insists, however, that there are enough good men who know the value of true education, and who take counsel for the general welfare in the face of an unappreciative people. Here the address breaks off.

Leverett's talents in the *oratio* are obvious. Benefitting from the Latin accomplishments of Harvard president, Urian Oakes, particularly his addresses of 1675 and 1678, he demonstrates his easy control of the periodic sentence, the vivid expression, the apt use of quotation and illustration. Sometimes he resorts to a diction and syntax later than the classical, and even coins words. If in all this there is missing the brilliant Oakesian wit and humor, there is always vigor.

In his transcription of the *oratio* Leverett made a number of *lapsus calami* and inadvertent omissions. At times he seems to have garbled two versions he was considering, leaving the reader at a loss. And at other times he absent-mindedly produces an inconsistent syntax. But the effect of the whole is always that of a smooth and lucid Latinity.

The few conventional abbreviations in the manuscript we have silently expanded. Spellings have been preserved but not necessarily punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing. Bracketed numbers in the text below are those of the pages of the manuscript.

⁷ A considerable number of such orations exist. A thorough search of American college archives would doubtless reveal many others. See Leo M. Kaiser, «The Oratio Quinta of Urian Oakes, Harvard 1678," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 19 (1970), 485-508; "The Unpublished Oratio Secunda of Urian Oakes, Harvard 1675," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 21 (1972), 385-412; "Tercentenary of an Oration: The 1672 Commencement Address of Urian Oakes," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 21 (1973), 75-87; "The Oratio Comitialis by Samuel Johnson," *The Classical Outlook*, 46 (1969), 113-15. The present writer is making a survey, however, of all forms of early American Latin prose.

Much of the research for this edition was undertaken in 1974 during a leave of absence granted by Loyola University of Chicago, whose Committee on Research generously awarded funds for acquisition of materials. To the Newberry Library thanks are due for unstinting courtesies. For permission to publish the present *oratio* and for many kindly services I express my deep appreciation to the Harvard University Archives.

Fragmentum orationis designatae pro Comitii anno 1689,
e ruderibus excerptum (*)

Memoriae traditum est¹, auditores ornatissimi, Alcibiadem adolescentem ob imperitiam ut fit apud circumfusam popularium suorum multitudinem verba facere trepidantem, a Socrate philosophorum tunc temporis coryphaeo² lepida ista *εἰσαγωγή* (¹) fuisse animatum contemnendos esse sutorem, praeconem, tabernaculorum opificem, ex quibus constitit, quem ille tantopere reverebatur, Atheniensium populus; quorum si singulos existimavit esse contemnendos (²), non minus etiam despiciatui haberet universos. Atqui vero non ea mihi facilis et expedita contigit hodie provincia, neque illud succurrit argumentum fiduciae, *παῖρσις* adminiculum et subsidium, quod discipulo suo cumprimis charo satis fide commodeque subiecit sapientissimus ille philosophus. Non enim apud imperitam et insulsam multitudinem, e sordibus et faece³ populi conflata, non apud turbam collectitiam et colluviem⁴ plebis *ἀναλφαβήτου*, quae multa ex opinione, pauca ex veritate iudicat⁵, neque apud illos [78] qui nunquam oratorem aut philosophum, ne pictum quidem, quod dicitur, viderunt⁶, verba sum facturus, sed in hoc

(*) *lectiones codicis manuscripti corruptas in apparatus criticum relegavi.*

(¹) *εἰσαγωγή*.

(²) contemnendo

¹ Cf. Cicero, *De Republica* 6.10 : "quae dicam, trade memoriae." The source of the Alcibiades anecdote I have not been able to determine.

² Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1.21.59 : "Zenonem, quem Philo noster coryphaeum appellare Epicureorum solebat."

³ Cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1.16.11 : "apud sordem urbis et faecem."

⁴ Cf. Cicero, *De Senectute* 23.85 : "ex hac turba et colluvione discedam."

⁵ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 4 : "Non est enim consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen."

⁶ Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus* 5.80 : "qui nunquam philosophum pictum, ut dicitur, viderunt."

eruditionis et ingenii theatro Academico apud impense doctos et cordatos⁷ admodum viros, tam Reipublicae quam Ecclesiae lumina re quidem vera atque collumina⁸, quorum dignitas splendorque non mirum oculorum et ingenii vix mediocris aciem si perstrinxerit⁹, tantumque non mutum me reddat et elinguem. Non ego video nescio quos terrae filios perobscuros et minorum gentium homunciones, aut si intersint, nihil quicquam moror : fero facile cerdonum et opificum illiteratorum conspectum ac frequentiam. Verum illud est quod me non mediocriter sollicitat et excruciat¹⁰, quod in his comitiis, in hac celeberrima panegyri¹¹ lectissimaeque auditorum corona, praesentes adesse videam honoratissimum Gubernatorem¹², magistratus spectatissimos, theologos gravissimos aliosque quam plurimos auditores acerrimo iudicio praeditos, "emunctae naris"¹³ homines, facile in re literaria principes; quorum conspectu consessuque⁽³⁾ verendo non minus quam venerando, non possum non vehementius commoveri. Quintilianum proferre⁽⁴⁾ memini quendam suae memoriae oratorem Capitonem, hominem valde quidem arrogantem, accusasse quod erubesceret Caesarem timore¹⁴. Ad me vero quod attinet, sciatis velim non usque eo perfricuisse frontem omnemque verecundiam abjecisse¹⁵, ut non turpe mihi ducam si minus tales auditores timere videar. Vereor equidem ut quemadmodum olim Caesar Augustus¹⁶, exceptus a quodam caena perparca ac pene quotidiana, illud convivatori discessurus insusurravit, "Non putavi me tibi tam familiarem"; ita quoque viri, quos frequentes adesse video perillustres, apparatus hodie-

(3) concessuque

(4) proferre

⁷ Cf. Ennius in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.9.18 : "egregie cordatus homo."

⁸ Cf. Oakes, *Oration of 1678*, 69 : "Fuit ille vir ... lumen et collumen illius ecclesiae cui praeerat."

⁹ Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus* 4.14.37 : "aciem animorum nostrorum virtutis splendore praestringitis."

¹⁰ Cf. Cicero, *De Finibus* 1.16 : "semper animum excruciant et semper sollicitant."

¹¹ A Latinization of *παραίρησις*, "an assemblage."

¹² Simon Bradstreet (1603-1697), Governor of Massachusetts, 1679-1686.

¹³ Horace, *Sermones* I.4.8.

¹⁴ Quintilian is not the source for the story of Capito; the real source I have not been able to determine.

¹⁵ Cf. Martial 11.27.7 : "aut cum perfricuit frontem posuitque pudorem."

¹⁶ I have not located the source for this anecdote.

num, quo sunt a me accepti, oppido tenuem ac jejunum [79] — ne dicam sordidum — contumeliam haud ferendam ⁽⁵⁾ interpretentur.

Verum enimvero quod me perturbat ac percellit, animat quoque confirmatque, quod me sollicitat, etiam recreat, quod excruciat animam, reficit etiam ac consolatur, quod terret oculos, affert etiam additque fiduciam, laetus scilicet faventissimorum auditorum et jucundus aspectus; quorum fretus benevolentia, quam toties sum expertus neque adhuc exolevisse censeo, pauca pro more meo jejuno fateor et incompto, quanta maxima brevitate potero dicere aggrediar.

Ecquid ¹⁷ vero prius aut antiquius est habendum, quam ut in ipso sermonis exordio et orationis limine innumera plane summaque Dei Optimi Maximi beneficia, qua possumus grata memoria, recolamus, grata qua fieri potest commemoratione praedicemus? cujus unius praesenti ⁽⁶⁾ ac propitio numine Rempublicam nostram usque adhuc in mediocris felicitatis statu conservatam gratulamur; absque quo esset, constitutae praeclarissime Reipublicae nullum hodie superesset vestigium, nihil veteris status aut pristinae pacis atque libertatis foret reliquium. Nolite, quaeso, committere ut effluent vobis ex animis multa plura quam queam enumerare munera, quae plena manu effudit nobis et donavit affatim divina benignitas. Illius ductu et auspiciis majores nostri, terra natali, qua nihil dulcius, valere jussa, se, suos, sua procelloso pelago ¹⁸ dubiisque ventorum flatibus tradidere, tandemque immenso et emenso ¹⁹ mari navigationem experto prosperrimam ad haec littora feliciter appulerunt. Et si cui populo liceret, oportet origines suas consecrare atque ad Deum referre authorem, quemadmodum loquitur Romanus historicus ²⁰, eam profecto populi Nov-Anglici gloriam esse — absit verbo invidia — prope singularem omnibus, nisi qui destinata opera plane caecutiant [80] aut ex livore non leviter lippiant. Talpa caecior ²¹ sit oportet, qui non videt Reipublicae qua civilis qua ecclesiasticae qua scholasticae fundamenta posuisse majores nostros Christo

⁽⁵⁾ ferendum

⁽⁶⁾ praesent.

¹⁷ Leverett in his *Oration of 1703*, 105-106 (forthcoming) quotes or paraphrases this and the two following sentences.

¹⁸ Cf. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 5.22 : "procellosissimo pelago."

¹⁹ This type of word play, found often in this oration, was indulged in even by Cicero; cf. *De Officiis* 1.50 : "ratio et oratio," and Oakes's *Oration of 1675*, 21.

²⁰ Cf. Livy, *Praefatio* 7 : "si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas, et ad deos referre auctores."

²¹ Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 1.3.55 : "talpa caecior."

duce et auspice Christo. Ille patres nostros pietatis cultores ardentissimos zeloque religionis inflammatos, et ad cultum divinum ad amussim Scripturarum θεοπνεύστων, ad eloquiorum sacrorum normam ac canonem instaurandum, novissime caelesti aliquo et divino afflatu concitatos, in has quas incolimus terras protexit atque deduxit. Quorum quidem cum a sinu gremioque patriae ²² atque a complexu suorum essent avulsi, et voluntarium quoddam in peregrina terra exilium agerent, tutelam ac patrocinium benignissime suscepit. Mirum profecto dictu, quot et quanta propugnator atque patronus ille omnipotens pericula propulsavit, averruncavit mala, quibus in his recessibus silvestribus primitus expositi fuere coloni nostri pientissimi. Illius beneficio non a sordibus quidem sed tantum ab humilibus initiis ad hunc quem attigimus statum haud contemnendum sensim accrevit Nov-Anglia; quippe non passim collecta populi colluvies originem illi dedit, quemadmodum Romae veteri, sed lectissimus illustrium virorum numerus, qui quidem omni rerum secundarum (quas mortalium vulgus deperit impensius) (?) ratione posthabita, Deum ipsum itineris incoeptique ducem manifestissimum secuti sunt et authorem. Cujus ad arbitrium nutumque totos se finxerunt et accommodarunt ²³, nihil prorsus optatius habentes quam ut nominis divini gloriae possent inservire Deoque frui propitio; neque sua de spe deciderunt ⁽⁸⁾, sed votis fruebantur usque ad invidiam felicibus.

Ingrati simus oportet, supra quam dici potest, parcissimique beneficiorum divinorum aestimatores, nisi populum suum, quem miris modis perlexit ac eduxit in hunc eremum, benignissime fructasse ²⁴ Deum ingenue et libere profiteamur, a quo quidem omnes et spirandi et sperandi rationes suspensas habemus. Quis enim non advertit tot illum edidisse ut, qui non odio plusquam tyrannico (anti-Christiano scilicet) prosequuntur, velint nolint, necessum habeant ut videant intabescantque videndo. Adeo clara nimirum atque perspicua divini erga nos amoris signa toti orbi fuere sublata ut stupeant, invideant ⁽⁹⁾, ringantur adversarii; laeto animo recognoscant passim terrarum amici.

(7) impotentius; *in margine* : potius "impensius"

(8) deciderent

(9) invidiant

²² Cf. Cicero, *Pro M. Caelio* 24.59 : "cum Q. Metellus abstraheretur e sinu gremioque patriae."

²³ Cf. Cicero, *Orator* 8.24 : "ad eorum arbitrium et nutum totos se fingunt et accommodant."

²⁴ Perhaps a coinage of Leverett; it must mean here, "has blessed with fruit." The post-classical verb "fructuo" can mean only "bear fruit."

Cujus, obsecro, beneficio servile jugum, quod aliorum ubivis fere cervicibus incubuit, nondum passa, liberioris populi privilegiis haud vulgaribus hactenus gavisa est Nov-Anglia? Quis, quaeso vos, sublegendi senatum creandique quos vellet magistratus potestatem populo nostrati liberam permisit? Quis Reipublicae procurationem ²⁵ annuis magistratibus populi suffragiis, ex ordine designatis concedidit? Providitque ne libido regentium pro legibus habeatur? Quis tandem viros dedit gravitate, iudicio, virtute atque veracitate conspicuos, apprime dignos, quibus Reipublicae gubernacula ²⁶, fasces et secures ²⁷ deferantur? Qui quidem libertati Reipublicae non insidiantur aut invident, quasi aliorum libertas sua esset servitus, sed utilitatem publicam assidue spectant quasi sua salus in ea vertatur, sua, non aliena res agatur. Floruit usque adhuc Respublica suis legibus ex aequo et bono concinnatis, suis magistratibus legum e Republica latarum observantissimis, suis ecclesiis sanae fidei professione sanctitateque celeberrimis, veritatis evangelicae columnis reapse atque firmamentis, suis scholis virtutis et eruditionis illustribus officinis; sua etiamnum gloriatur Academia, suis Athenaeis ⁽¹⁰⁾ bonarum artium consecratis. Neque vero — ut quod paucis leviter attigi ²⁸ paulo fusius edisseram — quicquid aliud mihi succurrit, quod divinam in nos benignitatem testatam magis facit atque manifestam (ut nullus [82] neque inficiandi neque dubitandi locus relinquitur) quam quod non unius tantum aetatis hominum sed et posteriorum rebus et rationibus consuluerit, non mirifico modo quasi metamorphosi deserti et inculti ²⁹ soli in terram fertilem, quo suppeterent ad victum et valitudinem necessaria, sed etiam pro infinita sua gratia longe in posterum prospiciendo, ut honestis disciplinis et bonis artibus informarentur adolescentes ³⁰, quo vera Dei veneratio mox teneris eorum annis inseratur, et ab ineunte aetate pietate et doctrina quam primum imbuantur et excolantur. Est

(10) Athenis

²⁵ Cf. Cicero, *De Divinatione* 2.7: "philosophiam nobis pro rei publicae procuratione substitutam putabamus."

²⁶ Cf. Cicero, *De Divinatione* 2.3: "gubernacula rei publicae tenebamus."

²⁷ Cicero, *Ad. Q. Fratrem* 1.1.13: "fasces illi ac secures."

²⁸ Cf. Cicero, *De Inventione* 1.30: "leviter attingendo."

²⁹ Cf. Cicero, *De Amicitia* 55: "vita inculta et deserta ab amicis."

³⁰ Cicero, *Pro Archia* 4: "artibus quibus aetas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet."

enim extra omnem dubitationis aleam positum, ipso Dei nutu et afflatu excitatos viros perillustres, qui primi Coloniae nostrae fundamenta jecerunt, de recta liberorum institutione non parum sollicitos, ludos ubique literarios prudenter instituisse, ubi honeste, sancte, liberaliter erudire possent. Cum ³¹ multa divinitus a majoribus nostris in ipsis nascentis Reipublicae primordiis instituta sunt, tum nihil profecto clarius, nihil conducibilius, salutaris, mea quidem sententia, <quam> ⁽¹¹⁾ quod ab ipsa Reipublicae infantia, ab ipsis prope dixeram incunabulis ⁽¹²⁾, suis consiliis, impensis, legibus rem literariam sedulo procurarunt, tota mente omni que animi impetu in hoc unum incumbentes, non ut scholae tantum quas vocant triviales passim aperirentur, sed institueretur etiam Academia Musis et Minervae, si liceat ἐθνικίζειν ³², seu Deo potius Optimo et Maximo Christoque Servatori dedicata; ⁽¹³⁾ quam quidem artium literarumque omnium Almam Matrem, parentum more et amore, perpetua cura foverunt ⁽¹⁴⁾ indulgentius, satis gnari Rempublicam et ecclesias florere [83] non posse nisi studiis et artibus floreat adolescentes. Longum est explicare atque ab instituto meo foret alienum, si fuse copioseque dissererem quam scite Republica <...> ⁽¹⁵⁾ quantasque opportunitates habeat institutio academica. Frustra locarem operam ³³, in sole lucernam accenderem ³⁴, si de scholarum usu deque praestantia bonarum literarum uberius agerem; quodque magis me movet, vereor ne auditorum ingeniis nimium diffidere videar, de tam perspicua re apud vos viros doctos extra disputationem posita si pluribus verbis dissertarem.

Socratem jam olim dixisse memorat Aristoteles ³⁵ οὐ χαλεπὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν : ita profecto res facilis et expeditissima videtur, conficienda citra pulverem ³⁶ et sudorem, apud eruditos

⁽¹¹⁾ quam *addidi syntaxeos causa.*

⁽¹²⁾ incunabilis

⁽¹³⁾ dedicati

⁽¹⁴⁾ faverunt

⁽¹⁵⁾ *verbum desideratur.*

³¹ This long sentence shows some close resemblances to Oakes's *Oration of 1675*, 20-21.

³² An apparent coinage of Leverett, which means "to speak in pagan terms".

³³ Cf. Plautus, *Trinummus* 843 : "operam meam tribus nummis hodie locavi."

³⁴ Cicero, *De Finibus* 4.12.29 : "in sole ... lucernam adhibere nihil interest."

³⁵ Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.9.30 : οὐ χαλεπὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινεῖν. Cf. Plato, *Menexenus* 235D.

³⁶ Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 1.5.79 : "citra pulverem."

viros, quales vos estis auditores, literarum humanarum artiumque ingenuarum studia laudibus et praeconiis condecorare; ardua vero res est et operosa nimis, quae Ciceronis aemulum desiderat oratorem, si quis ab imperitis et indoctis (cujusmodi hominum proventus est uberri-mus) extorquere vellet ut fateantur sine scholis, sine collegio, sine viris scientiarum instructis heptarchia ³⁷ consistere non posse Rempubicam. Utinam vero ea temporum esset conditio, ea literarum felicitas, ut neminem haberent adversarium; adeoque supervacaneum esset in iis laudibus immorari. Cum sophista quidam librum erat recitaturus, cujus argumentum esset Herculis encomium, "Quis," inquit aliquis, "illum vituperat?" ³⁸ Quam vellem adeo prosperum ac felicem esse literarum scholarumque statum, ut eas laudare foret otiosum et inutile quia nemo vituperat. At vero — proh dolor! — nimium multos protulit aetas nostra, prodigiorum feracissima, qui frugibus lautissimis putrem glandem anteponunt, et de literis non aliter quam de coloribus caeci judicant, Aesopico gallo ³⁹ haud dissimiles, [84] qui gemmas quantivis pretii vel hordei grano postposuit.

Illud quidem acerbum dictu et dolendum maxime, inter illos qui Christiano nomine gloriantur, reperiri quibus plane sordet tota illa qua fruimur hic educatio liberalis, et singularia Dei dona, quibus humano generi peramanter prospexit atque consuluit, despiciatui sunt atque fastidio. Inter dolosas callidasque rationes, quibus consceleratus ille ⁽¹⁶⁾ apostata Iulianus ⁴⁰ Christianam rempublicam non labefactare tantum, sed etiam convellere conatus est et funditus evertere, illa mihi non postrema, sed vel ipsum jugulum petiisse ⁴¹ videtur cum rhaetorum philosophorumque scholas occludi Christianorum liberis edicto jusserit, ut bonarum literarum seminariis in ecclesia paulatim extinctis, meraque barbarie inducta, Sacrarum Scripturarum studia una eademque opera

(16) illa

³⁷ In Carl Darling Buck and Walter Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago, n.d.), pp. 167-68, compounds like *τριαρχία* and *τετραρχία* are listed, but no *επταρχία*. It is found in no dictionaries. The word refers to the medieval trivium and quadrivium.

³⁸ Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 2.6.35: "Frustra Herculi, subaudi, calumniam struxeris."

³⁹ The fable (*Pullus ad margaritam*) is in Phaedrus 3.12 (*Phaedri ... Liber Fabularum*, Rec. A. Guaglianone, Torino 1969, p. 46).

⁴⁰ This and the following sentence are much indebted to Oakes's *Oration of 1675*, 15.

⁴¹ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Milone* 11: "jugulum ... non semel ab illo petium."

tollerentur, neque essent qui philosophorum strophis, argutiis, et ludi-
briis resistere possent. Quo magis mirandum inter illos inveniri qui
Christiani non tantum audire vellent, sed etiam Christianorum primi,
quibus nihil optatius accidere potest quam si scholis eversis aut sublatis
artium studia protinus et penitus exularent. O zelum, seu *κακοζηλίαν* ⁴²
potius, non cum scientia sed contra scientiam! Paulum Secundum ⁴³,
Pontificem Romanum, bonas literas ille ⁴⁴ cane pejus et angui odisse
testatur Platina ⁴⁵, eosque omnes pronunciassse haereticos qui nomen
Academiae ⁴⁶ vel serio vel joco commemorant. Papae! Papa Satanae
Vicario digna sententia, ex tripode dicta ⁴⁷, seu ex infallibili — quis enim
illud ausit negare — cathedra permirifica pronunciata! Eant nunc jam
hostes literarum, atque scholas, academias, eruditionem liberalem Anti-
christiani sui scilicet, si videtur, insinuent; sciant tamen se dogma Ponti-
ficum tueri, qui eo furoris et insaniae processerunt, ut academias Rei-
publicae non inutiles ⁽¹⁷⁾ modo, sed et [85] perniciosas existimant. O
aconita Anticyris vix expurganda duabus! ⁴⁸ O miseri literarum adver-
sarii, tum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentiunt quam sint miseri! Ego
quidem ex numero hominum ejiciendos, ex finibus humanae naturae
pene dixeram exterminandos esse, qui bonas literas ostracismum pati
vellent, artesque liberales non in decennale tantum sed perpetuum
exilium proficisci, quo nihil fieri potest foedius, nihil miserius, nihil
perditius, nihil nobis ac posteris perniciosius. Et tamen facile est bonis
istis viris, adducto supercilio, grandia verba trutinari ⁴⁹, et erectis

(17) inutile

⁴² The word *κακοζηλία* occurs in Longinus 3.4 with the meaning "bad taste" or "bad style"; here, however, it must be rendered as "evil zeal."

⁴³ Paul II (1417-1471).

⁴⁴ The position of *ille*, if *ille* is correct here and modifies Platina, is unusual.

⁴⁵ Bartolomeo de' Sacchi di Piadena (1421-1481), author of a history of the Popes (edited most recently by Giacinto Gaida, *Platynae Historici Liber de Vita Christi ac Omnium Pontificum*, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* III. 1 (Città di Castello, 1913)). Platina was responsible for the fiction that Paul II was an illiterate persecutor of learning.

⁴⁶ The Roman Academy was founded by Giulio Pomponio Leto with the object of promoting the discovery and investigation of ancient monuments and books. It was a sort of religion of classicism, mixed with learning and philosophy. Cf. V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, 3 vols (Roma-Grottaferrata, 1909-1912).

⁴⁷ Erasmus, *Adagia* 1.7.90: "ex tripode dicta."

⁴⁸ Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 300: "tribus Anticyris caput insanabile."

⁴⁹ Cf. Persius 3.82: "exporrecto trutinantur verba labello."

cristis contra scholarum usum aut necessitatem vel ad clepsydram ⁵⁰ seu mavultis amphoram declamitare, qui vix aliud norunt ⁽¹⁸⁾ quam contra literas literatosque viros contumeliose loqui, eosque petulantissimaeque lingua consecrari. Neque vero vel pili penderem quid isti nebulones deblaterant vel ogganiunt, nisi quod omnia quae petulanter effutiunt non adversis sed secundis pronisque hominum auribus tanquam ex Apollinis Pythii oraculo responsa protinus accipiantur. Sic enim est fere ingenium vulgi ad deteriora credenda valde pronum, illud sane permolestum ferendum istos non nomine tenus sed revera fanaticos ⁽¹⁹⁾ suam scabiem hominibus non malis sed imperitis et incautis affricuisse ⁵¹. Latius etenim ⁽²⁰⁾ opinione disseminatum est hoc malum, et multorum animos nimium quantum occupavit; pessimum profecto id genus hominum, qui nil magis gloriosum existimant quam quae alii sciunt ignorare, quae ignorant ipsi, vituperare. Frivolum scilicet atque nugatorium deducunt quicquid ipsi nesciunt, et justitiae suae dedecori consulunt, quemadmodum astuta vulpes ⁵² quae cum e laqueo abscissa cauda evasisset, caeteris etiam persuasum ivit vulpeculis caudam sibi quoque abscindant, ⁽²¹⁾ ut quae non dehonestamento solum sed etiam oneri fuerit inutili. Sunt etiam qui pe[86]riisse prorsus existimant quod liberis liberaliter instituendis impenditur, cumque satis animadvertant paupertatem egestatemque scholasticorum esse fere comitem assiduum et individuum, neque mercatores solum sed etiam agricolas et fabros-ferrarios ⁽²²⁾ et cujusmodicunque opifices fieri locupletes lautiusque victitare atque vestiri, perabsurdum autem et ridiculum opes suas in scholasticam filiorum institutionem absumere, quo tandem evadere possint in viros egenos, pariter atque eruditos, et cum inopia domesticarum rerum indigne conflictentur. Sunt etiam quos insatiabilis ⁵³ et

⁽¹⁸⁾ norent

⁽¹⁹⁾ fanatos

⁽²⁰⁾ etenim

⁽²¹⁾ quoque ut abscindant : *semicirculo inclusum est ut.*

⁽²²⁾ faberferrarios : *num declinatione globali usus est orator? In margine glossa legitur faberrarios.*

⁵⁰ Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore* 3.138 : "hunc non declamator aliquis ad clepsydram latrare docuerat."

⁵¹ Cf. Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 7 : "candido et simplici rubiginem suam affricuit."

⁵² Aesop, *Fables* 5.5.

⁵³ Cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.19.44 : "insatiabilis quaedam cupiditas veri videndi."

infinita lucri cupiditas transversos agit ⁵⁴, quique ⁽²³⁾ ad quaestum traducunt omnia, et usque eo fervent ferunturque avaritia ut sumptus educandis liberis vel exiguis gravate ferant et recusent; quin potius ad artes et rationes quaesturias, mechanicas potius quam liberales amandant illos ut, tyrocinio demum exacto, artem aliquam factitare possint quae sit illis illa cornucopia, ubi quidem inest quicquid volunt homines. Quis, quaeso, non intelligit hinc esse nobis haud leve periculum ne tandem literae magno posteriorum dispendio naufragium faciant ⁵⁵ vel ab ipsa radice pereant. Hoc nostri mali caput est, haec fundi nostri calamitas. Est haec φιλοχρηματία μητρόπολις πάσης κακίας ⁵⁶ metropolitanum quoddam, ut ita dicam, vitium, ρίζα πάντων κακῶν ... ἡ φιλαργυρία, inquit Apostolus ⁵⁷, ex qua radice pullulant ⁵⁸ innumera profecto mala Reipublicae perniciosae. Multi sunt quos apte satis pecuniae mancipia <appellemus> ⁽²⁴⁾, seu comici ⁵⁹ verbis, pecuniarum accipitres, rapacibus et vitiosis manibus homines, sui nimium tenaces, alieni vero appetentes et rapaces, quasi sibi tantum et suis commodis nati fuissent; perque illos licet ruant omnia, modoque suis opibus nihil decesserit, nihil habent pensi quid Reipublicae ⁽²⁵⁾ futurum sit. "O tempora, O mores," ⁶⁰ pudet pigetque referre quantum a nonnullis per luxum profunditur [87] quantosque sumptus haud pauci faciunt in convivia, comotationes, vestimenta, supellectilem, similesque res inanes ac frivolas, quantum si vel tertiam partem in scholas vel academias converterentur, eo pacto non solum veram religionem et bonarum literarum studia promoverent, sed sempiternam sibimetipsis memoriam compararent.

Verum enimvero, ne seculo nostro sim iniquior, aut nimium queri videar, si quis veterum monumenta consulit, facile profecto rerum cunctarum quasi orbem esse quendam animadvertet, ut quemadmodum

⁽²³⁾ quicquid

⁽²⁴⁾ supplevi verbum.

⁽²⁵⁾ Republ.

⁵⁴ Cf. Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 8.4: "cum coepit transversos agere felicitas."

⁵⁵ Cf. Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 16.9.1: "multi naufragia fecerunt."

⁵⁶ Cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Diogenes* 6.50: τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν.

⁵⁷ Cf. 1 *Tim.* 6.10: ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία.

⁵⁸ Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* II.17: "pullulat ab radice."

⁵⁹ Cf. Plautus, *Persa* 409: "pecuniae accipiter."

⁶⁰ Cicero, *In Catilinam* 1.1.

temporum vices, ita morum quoque vertantur; nec omnia apud priores fuisse meliora, sed et nostram quoque aetatem multa laudis et artium exempla posteris imitanda tradidisse, neque seculum hoc adeo virtutum esse sterile ut non et bona exempla prodiderit ⁶¹. Sunt etiamnum viri prudentissimi, et immortalis gloria dignissimi, quibus certo constat neque Rempubicam consistere neque veram religionem conservari posse sine scholis, ut quae sint tam Reipublicae quasi seminaria quaedam quam ecclesiarum, neque ingeniorum culturae melius consuli posse quam in publicis gymnasiis optimarum literarum studiis quasi consecratis.

Fuit, fuit ea profecto Coloniae nostrae felicitas, majores nostros, omnium seculorum memoria dignissimos, ita in rem literariam fuisse animatos ut nihil ad communem salutem utilius se facere posse censuerunt, quam si scholas et Academiam instituerent, ex quibus uberem messem demessuit, fructumque haud exiguum jamdudum percepit Respublica. Tametsi vero primi literarum Atlantes, qui suis humeris rempublicam scholasticam sustinere, rebus humanis sint exempti, supersunt tamen adhuc per Dei gratiam viri vere Apollinares, qui a majorum vestigiis non ⁽²⁶⁾ transversum unguem discessere ⁶², literarum literatorumque fautores ac Mecaenates honoratissimi. Excitavit Deus "haud ita pridem" ⁶³ patronos benignissimos, quorum auspiciis, opibus, auxiliis animati feliciores progressus fecerunt Academici; ut caeteros taceam, Webbum ⁶⁴, Doddrigium ⁶⁵, Penoyerum ⁶⁶, aliosque nullo non honoris genere prosequendos, qui donaria sua jamdudum ad opus literarum promovendum ubertim obtulerunt ⁽²⁷⁾. Non possum non pietatem ac munificentiam singularem honoratissimi viri Domini Matthaei

(²⁶) ne

(²⁷) obtulerent

⁶¹ Cf. Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.3: "Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit."

⁶² Cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.20.4: "a recta conscientia transversum unguem non oportet discedere."

⁶³ Horace, *Sermones* II.2.46.

⁶⁴ Henry Webb, a Boston merchant and benefactor of Harvard; cf. Sibley 3.302.

⁶⁵ John Doddridge of Bremeridge, Devon, bequeathed to Harvard in 1659 the yearly sum of ten pounds forever; cf. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 2.382.

⁶⁶ William Penoyer, a London merchant, left Harvard a farm in England; cf. Morison, *op. cit.*, 2.383-85.

Holdsworthii ⁶⁷ equitis aurati commemorare, qui mille nummum libras, seu Latino si placet idiomate, bis centena millia sestertium, Academiae nostrae testamento dedit, neque reticere possum pientissimi simul atque doctissimi theologi Theophili Galaei ⁶⁸ τοῦ μακαρίτου beneficentiam, qui bibliothecam suam selectissimis libris instructissimam Collegio nostro testamento legavit. Illi quidem viri clarissimi deque nobis meritissimi suam in coelis mercedem reportarunt plene cumulateque perfectam; neque est quod re vera accrescat illis emolumenti quicquam a nobis laudatoribus; quorum tamen eximiae liberalitatis extant apud nos amplissima monumenta, eorum sane merita grata memoria sunt recolenda. Neque in Deum Optimum Maximum pro eo atque debemus grati esse possumus, cujus nutu et afflatu pientissimae memoriae viri paulo ante memorati plena manu facultates suas in Academiam nostram effuderunt, si tantorum beneficiorum auctores aut administros ingratae oblivioni tradamus ⁶⁹.

Est etiam inter beneficia non postrema numerandum jugiter excitasse Deum eximios viros, conservasse nobis conservatores et curatores vigilantissimos, quibus revera cordi et curae sunt res Academicae ut floreant artes, vigeant boni mores, tradatur posteris incorrupta religio, qualem nobis antecessores optimi tradiderunt. Testantur haec comitia, tanta frequentia talique virorum illustrium consessu (²⁸) decorata, etiamnum superesse nobis fautores et Mecaenates benignissimos, quorum presentia quis non intelligit majestatem quandam rebus adesse literariis, quorum conspectu valde quidem excitantur Academicorum ingenia florentissima, quorum studio et favore artes optimae debitis honoribus aluntur (²⁹) ac foveuntur.

Quamobrem immensum est quod tibi debemus, honoratissime [89] Domine Bradstreete, cujus vigiliis secundum Deum nitimur nequid Respublica detrimenti capiat ⁷⁰, teque in summos apud nos honores

(²⁸) concessu

(²⁹) alantur

⁶⁷ Sir Matthew Holworthy (d. 1678), a British merchant knighted by Charles II in 1665; cf. Josiah Quincy, *A History of Harvard University*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1840), 1. 182-93.

⁶⁸ Theophilus Gale (c. 1629-1678), Cambridge graduate and English clergyman; cf. Quincy, *op. cit.*, 1.185.

⁶⁹ Cf. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 18.31.2: "idola ... oblivioni tamquam sepulturae tradita."

⁷⁰ Cf. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 10.8.8: "ne quid res publica detrimenti acciperet."

idque merito sane tuo evectum gratulamur. Gratulamur pariter atque miramur in provecta ista aetate subesse parem ingentibus Reipublicae negotiis animi vigorem, teque in occidua senectute ⁷¹ rebus agendis idoneum ut qui maxime. Tu quidem cum sis autoritate gravissimus, longe rerum usu prudentissimus, verae pietatis studiosissimus, constantia, aequabilitate, in omni vita laudatissimus, iustitia aequitateque in administranda Republica a multis retro annis celebratissimus, totius Reipublicae testimonio probatissimus, caeteris, in quibus facile primas obtines, virtutibus adjunxisti morum comitatem singularem Academiaeque nostrae curam non vulgarem. Nae tu nos opulento mactasti gaudio, qui praesentia tua longe gratissima, sis licet tot alioqui negotiis distentissimus ⁷², cohonestare non dedignatus fueris.

Caeteris quoque curatoribus ornatissimis debemus plurimum, quorum adventu sane quam exoptatissimo dici non potest quantopere recreamur.

Illud vere immane quantum dignitatis et laetitiae solennis comitiorum adfert celebritati, quod summo Dei beneficio, desideratissimos consummatissimosque viros Dominum Stoughtonum ⁷³ fidumque ejus Achatem ⁷⁴ Dominum Bulkleium ⁷⁵, viros valentesque, coram ac praesentes intueamur. O fratrum dulce par ⁷⁶, quibus ita sola fuisse videtur aemulatio, uter eorum Rempublicam vehementius diligeret, uter praeclarius de Republica mereretur communique saluti studiosius et officiosius inserviret. O acerbam mihi memoriam temporis illius, cum illa Reipublicae atque Academiae non ornamenta tantum, sed et statumina desiderata fuerint! O acerbum illud triennale divortium ⁷⁷! Verum quo molestius fuit illorum desiderium — fuit autem molestissimum — hoc tandem aliquando redditus ⁷⁸ illorum conspectus nobis est jucundior. Nunc demum nobis videmur hospites, cum eximios illos viros Reipublicae, ecclesiis, Academiae, quibus fidam navarunt operam, restitutos conspiciamus. O clementiam divini numinis admirabilem! O fidem in servandis promissis summpere depraedicandam!

⁷¹ Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.227 : "labitur occiduae per iter declive senectae."

⁷² Cf. Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amerio* 8.22 : "tot tantisque negotiis distentus."

⁷³ William Stoughton (1631-1701), A. B. Harvard, 1650; Governor of Massachusetts, 1694-1701. Cf. Sibley 1. 194-208.

⁷⁴ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* I.174 : "fidus Achates."

⁷⁵ Peter Bulkeley (1643-1688), A. B. Harvard, 1660; cf. Sibley 2. 68-71.

⁷⁶ Cf. Horace, *Sermones* II. 3. 243 : "par nobile fratrum."

⁷⁷ Leverett probably is referring to the gloomy presidency of Leonard Hoar, 1672-1675; cf. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 2.394-408.

⁷⁸ See note 87.

Deus nobis haec gaudia fecit ⁷⁹. Digni profecto sunt optimates illi, duumviri percele[90]bres, qui ⁽³⁰⁾ quaesitissimis honoribus excipiantur, quorum fidei, prudentiae, diligentiae, fortitudini (quae quidem in commissis negotiis eluxere vel ipso Momo ⁸⁰ iudice) quae potest par oratio inveniri?

Ingenue profitentur omnes, nisi quorum malevolentia suffusi sunt animi, viros hosce dignissimos praeceptum officium commendabili laude persolvisse, Deoque bene juvante, bonae tantum conscientiae praetio ductos quod e Republica ducerent egisse sedulo; de quorum laudibus si quis derogatum ibit, nae ille splendori tenebras nequicquam offundere ⁸¹ sataget, dignus profecto cui rumpantur ilia ⁸², et perire licet;

rumpatur quisquis rumpitur invidia. ⁸³

Quam sit iniquum consilia vel conatus eventis ponderare norunt omnes aequi rerum aestimatores. Scite ⁽³¹⁾ praecinuit poeta ⁽³²⁾, ego animitus succinam

careat successibus opto,

quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putet ⁸⁴.

Suum facit officium ⁸⁵, etiamsi vota non satis respondeant ⁽³³⁾, qui fidem praestat. Quam quidem praestitisse eximios hosce viros in obeundo apud Regem nostrum serenissimum ⁸⁶ oratorio munere ⁸⁷, malevolus sit oportet aut rerum imperitus qui denegare sustinet.

Magna profecto Deo est habenda gratia, qui delegatos nostros in clientelam suam receptos sartos tectos, ut aiunt, ab omni incommodo

⁽³⁰⁾ quam

⁽³¹⁾ scit

⁽³²⁾ porta

⁽³³⁾ respondeat

⁷⁹ Cf. Vergil, *Eclogues* I.6 : "deus nobis haec otia fecit."

⁸⁰ Momus is the god of blame or criticism; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 214.

⁸¹ Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 1.3.6 : "quasi noctem quandam rebus offunderet."

⁸² Cf. Vergil, *Eclogues* VII.26 : "invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro."

⁸³ Martial IX.98.

⁸⁴ Ovid, *Heroides* II.85-86. Standard editions of Ovid read putat.

⁸⁵ Cf. Terence, *Adelphi* 69 : "suum officium facit."

⁸⁶ Charles II.

⁸⁷ Stoughton and Bulkeley were in England from 1676 to 1679 to respond to the complaints against the Colony by Mason and Gorges.

conservavit, praesidio et custodia λειτουργούντων ἀγγέλων ⁸⁸ tam Reipublicae quam ecclesiarum ἀποστόλους communivit, injurias, pericula, quibus terra marique fuere proposita longe charissima capita, miris modis propulsavit, tandemque nobis reddidit incolumes. Benedictus esto Deus, Pater ille miserationum ⁸⁹ a se misericordiam suam ⁽³⁴⁾ a nobis non averterit. Faxit ille δοτῆρ ἐκών ⁹⁰ ut hujus beneficii simus memores gratosque nos exhibeamus ⁽³⁵⁾ non verbis solum, sed re quoque vera, erga ⁽³⁶⁾ viros hosce dignissimos, qui periculum fortunarum capitumque suorum prae Reipublicae salute neglexere. Satis ⁹¹ equidem intelligo nihil quo expleri possit, non dico, expectatio (sunt enim modestissimi suique modici aestimatores), sed meritum illorum tributorum nunquam populum Nov-Anglicanum, etiamsi omnia congesserit. Quis tandem nescit salutarium consiliorum beneficiorumque incommodum et iniquum arbi[91]trum esse populum. Themistocles ⁹² olim filium suum ad Rempublicam aspirantem ad urbis Atticae stationem navium deduxit, ut ei triremes antiquas ad portus fractasque monstraret, quae neglectae prorsus erant focusque destinatae, prudenter admodum commonens ⁽³⁷⁾ ut secum de ingratitudine populi, quam tandem esset expectaturus ⁽³⁸⁾, etiam atque etiam cogitaret. Notarunt politici in degenere Reipublicae statu illos, ut plurimi, qui praeclare meriti sunt, pessimam retulisse gratiam. Utinam apud nos πολυθρύλλητον ⁽³⁹⁾ illud dictum Alphonsi ⁹³ Regis falsi redarguat, ingenti beneficio ⁹⁴ non nisi ingenti ingratitudini

(34) suam *supra lineam scriptum est*.

(35) *Leverett primum habeamus scripsit, dein mutavit.*

(36) ergo

(37) communes

(38) expecturus

(39) πολυθρύλλητον.

⁸⁸ Cf. Philo Judaeus, *De Virtutibus (De Humanitate)* 74 : ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί.

⁸⁹ Cf. 2 Cor. 1.3 : "Pater misericordiarum."

⁹⁰ Cf. 2 Cor. 9.7 : ἰαρόν ... δότην.

⁹¹ This sentence is defective; something is clearly missing at the end, if not elsewhere, although the sense is readily determined.

⁹² The father of the great general. The story is told by Plutarch, *Themistocles* 112.6. In the margin Leverett wrote : "De patre Themistoclis refert Plutarchus in Vita Themistoclis."

⁹³ I have not been able to identify this king.

⁹⁴ Ingenti beneficio is difficult to explain so far as case usage. Alphonse's sentiment is like that in Sappho 13 (Loeb) : ὅτινας γὰρ εὖ θέω, κῆνοί με μάλιστα σίννονται : "Those whom I benefit, injure me most."

satis semper fieri. Ingratus admodum et optime cuique merito infestissimus solet esse populus; praesertim his moribus nunc vivitur. Quod si pro beneficiis ab illis praestitis rependant homines calumnias et opprobria, nullus equidem addubito quin periculorum et laborum omnium, quos pro Republica susceperunt, fructum a Deo amplissimum sunt reportaturi.

Te vero, spectatissime Stoughtone, hujus Academiae quondam alumnus, Almae Matris filium perillustrem, de quo tantopere gloriatur tanquam singulari ornamento suo, non possumus non primariis societatis academicae Mecaenatibus inserere. Cum omnes pii atque eruditi viri tibi non quantum merere verum quantum possunt deferant, multis profecto nos academici nec iis vulgaribus a te affecti beneficiis, ingratissimi simus mortalium nisi quanti te faciamus quantumque tibi literae debeant ⁽⁴⁰⁾ apud omnes testatum relinquamus. Ptolomaei Philadelphi ⁹⁵, qui regno Aegyptico potitus olim honestarumque artium studio flagrans, egregiam instituit Alexandriae bibliothecam, filium ac successorem Ptolomaeum *Εὐεργέτην* ⁹⁶ cognomento dictum fuisse memorant historici. Quodsi mihi pro jure meo tanto viro cognomentum honorarium addere licuisset ⁽⁴¹⁾, esses tu quidem, ornatissime vir, Guilielmus cognomento dictus in posterum Euergetes, qui Philadelphi ⁽⁴²⁾ celeberrimi, tanquam germanus illius filius, exemplum in amplificanda Bibliotheca Harvardina videris aemulatus. Neque tamen hoc auribus tuis me dare ⁹⁷ velim existimes, aut verborum [92] lenociniis aucupii ⁽⁴³⁾ gratia instructorum, compositis confictisque sermonibus subparasitari ⁽⁴⁴⁾; non me latet quam es alienus ab omni ambitione, quam a fictitiis assentatorum laudibus ⁽⁴⁵⁾ abhorres, quam es contemptor aurae popularis, quam studiose soles adulatorum blandimentis ⁽⁴⁶⁾ et insidiis omnem aditum

⁽⁴⁰⁾ debent

⁽⁴¹⁾ licuisse

⁽⁴²⁾ Philodelphi

⁽⁴³⁾ aucupium

⁽⁴⁴⁾ subparasitare : *forma activa fortasse servanda est, quamquam Plautus verbo deponenti usus est.*

⁽⁴⁵⁾ laudes.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ blandimentorum.

⁹⁵ 309-246 B.C.

⁹⁶ Ptolemy Euergetes ("The Well-Doer ") reigned from 246 to 221 B.C.

⁹⁷ Trebonius in Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 12.16 : "Noli putare... me hoc auribus tuis dare."

occludere, Syrenum cantus obturatis auribus excludens. Te ⁽⁴⁷⁾ ἀθώ-
 πευτον καὶ ἀκόλακον esse norunt omnes qui te bene norunt. Tota
 prorsus errat via ⁹⁸ si quis verborum blanditiis aut quovis assentationis ⁹⁹
 artificio gratiam apud te studeat inire. Tu pro singulari, qua polles,
 animi modestia dicam an magnitudine, adeo palpum tibi non sines obtru-
 di ¹⁰⁰, ut vel justum laudum tuarum praeconium aegerrime sustineas ⁽⁴⁸⁾.
 Adeo nullam jam gloriae consecraris umbram ¹⁰¹, ut convitia facilius
 tuteris quam encomia, meritarum laudum magis impatiens quam quivis
 alius calumniarum. O quam te memorem! Laudari non vis? Quid igitur
 obsecro? Vin' tu nos, honoratissime vir, ingratitude ⁽⁴⁹⁾ labe aspergi? ¹⁰²
 Vin' tu in Academicis tuis gratitudinis officium requiratur? At vero
 modestiae tuae vim aliquam <facere> ⁽⁵⁰⁾ nobis certius est quam nos
 beneficiorum tuorum immemores adeoque ingratos vel esse vel haberi.
 Caeteris in rebus officium et obsequium meum non desiderabis; hac autem
 in re, sit verbo venia, non obsequar animo tuo. Vide quam non refor-
 midem ¹⁰³ voluntati tuae refragari! Quam non tacitas tuas cogitationes
 extimescam! Vide quanta, Mecaenas optime, fiducia, te praesente,
 audiente, mihi dicenti jam oboriatur... ¹⁰⁴

Caetera desiderantur.

Loyola University of Chicago.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Te qui.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ sustines

⁽⁴⁹⁾ ingratitude

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *supplevi verbum*

⁹⁸ Cf. Terence, *Eunuchus* 245 : "tota erras via."

⁹⁹ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* 36 : "se blanditiis et adsentationibus ... immersit."

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Plautus, *Pseudolus* 945 : "mi obtrudere non potes palpum."

¹⁰¹ Cf. Cicero, *In Pisonem* 24.57 : "omnes umbras etiam falsae gloriae consecrari."

¹⁰² Cf. Cicero, *In Vatinius* 6.15 : "ne labes illius dignitati adpersa videatur."

¹⁰³ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Ligario* 3.6 : "vide quam non reformidem."

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Ligario* 6 : "vide quanta lux liberalitatis et sapientiae tuae mihi
 apud te dicenti oboriatur."

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1. HARMONIUS MARSUS IOHANNES.

E. Cecchini, *Gnomon*, 45 (1973), 775-778 offers a number of useful emendations to the text of the *Comoedia Stephanium*, edited by W. Ludwig (München/Fink, 1971).

G. Tournoy is preparing an edition of another play (*De rebus Italicis*) by the same author, preserved in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

2. MACROPEDIUS GEORGIUS.

A. M. M. Dekker, "Three Unknown 'Cantilenae Martinianae'", *Hum. Lov.* 23 (1974), 188-227.

p. 217, v. 61 : read *validam* instead of *validum*.

p. 218, v. 105 : read *maius* instead of *malus*.

p. 221, str. 8, v. 2 : read *supplicant* instead of *susplicant*.

3. MOCCIA IOHANNES.

A list of textual emendations to the *editio princeps* of Moccia's poems by E. Ornato in his book *Jean Muret et ses amis Nicolas de Clamanges et Jean de Montreuil* (Paris 1969) is offered in the review of P. Petit-mengin, *Le Moyen Age*, LXXX (1974), 145-149.

4. VALLA LAUR.

De Libero Arbitrio, ed. Maria Anfossi (Firenze, 1934), p. 30 l. 435 : "audire abeo (habeo, *Opera omnia* 1543, p. 1005, l. 1)". *Lege* : "audire aveo".

J. II.

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2.

OPERA QUAE PARANTUR.

- AUDOENUS (OWEN) JOHANNES : Prof. J. R. C. Martyn (Dept. of Classics, U of Melbourne) is preparing an edition of the *Epigrammata*, to be published in 1976 by E. J. Brill at Leiden.

- CAMERARIUS JOACHIM : Prof. Fr. Baron (Dept. of Germanic Languages, U of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas 66045) will be the editor of a volume on *Joachim Camerarius and his Times. Essays on the History of Humanism during the Period of the Reformation*. The deadline for the submission of manuscripts was August 1975.
- COLUMBUS JONAS : Mrs Ruth Lundström (Rogge Library at Strängnäs, Sweden) is preparing an edition of the poetical autobiography of C. (1586-1663).
- HALOINUS GEORGIUS COMINIUS : Dr. C. Matheeussen (Univ. Facult. Sint-Aloisius, Brussels) is preparing an edition of the *Restauratio Linguae Latinae* (Antwerp 1533).
- STROZZA TITUS VESPASIANUS : Prof. Dr. Walther Ludwig (Dept. of Classics, Columbia U in New York) is preparing an edition with full commentary of Strozza's epic *Borsias*.
- ZOVITIUS JACOBUS DRIESCHARIUS : Drs. D. Van Kerchove (St.-Vincentius-college, B-9900 Eeklo, Belgium) is preparing a doctoral dissertation on Z. and his plays *Ruth* (1533), *Didascalus* (1540) and *Ovis Perdita* (1540).
- EARLY JESUIT THEATRE : Nigel Griffin (New College, Oxford) is preparing several publications on early Jesuit plays. An edition of Venegas's *Achabus* and an anonymous *Tragaedia Jezabelis* (Madrid, Royal Academy of History) will be published in 1976 by the U. of Exeter Press. A check-list of research materials on the Jesuit school drama will be published in the series *Research Bibliographies and Check-Lists* (London, Grant & Cutler), whereas the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid) is printing an article on tragedies performed at Seville in the 1560s and 1570s. These works will be followed later on by a book on the Jesuit school drama in Europe 1550-1600.
- NEO-LATIN STUDIES : Prof. J. IJsewijn is preparing a handbook of Neo-Latin Studies, to be published by the North-Holland Publishing Cy at Amsterdam, presumably at the end of 1976.
- FRENCH NEO-LATIN POETRY : Mme Genev. Demerson (U of Clermont-Ferrand) is preparing an edition of the Odes of J. Dorat (Auratus); Georges Soubeille (U of Toulouse) is working on a thesis : *Edition critique de deux œuvres de Salmon Macrin*.

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INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

List of Latin words to be found in this volume, but not in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* nor in Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*. Words to be found in dictionaries of mediaeval Latin are marked with an asterisk (*). The partial edition of Hanerón (pp. 34-69) has not yet been taken into account.

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- adpungere, *to punctuate* : p. 220
- *antichristianus, *antichristian* : p. 332, 336
- *archipraesul, *archbishop* : p. 106, 107
- *ascititius, *co-opted* : p. 216
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- *aurivomus, *showering gold (light)* : p. 137
- banana, *banana* : p. 318
- basis, *bass (voice)* : p. 228
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- *breviarium, *breviary* : p. 236
- *bursarius, *bursar, bursary scholar* : p. 186, 206, 236, 242
- *capellanus, *chaplain* : p. 242
- catapulta, *gun* : p. 268
- *chalcographicus, *of the printer* : p. 165
- chalcographus, *printer* : p. 76, 77, 165
- *charopus (Greek word!), *bright* : p. 228
- *cheopina, 'chopine' (French) : p. 230
- cordidatus, *kind* : p. 359
- *decanatus, *deanship* : p. 254
- *decubitus, *laying (down) in bed* : p. 236
- divolare, *to fly about* : p. 120
- *ducatus, *ducat* : p. 252
- *eleemosynarius, *almoner* : p. 256, 259
- *exscriptor, *transcriber* : p. 192
- ferripes, *with iron shoes* : p. 136
- fructare, *to bless with fruit* : p. 332
- gallinago, *woodcock?* : p. 232
- gymnasiolum, *little college* : p. 180
- *hemisphaericus, *hemispherical* : p. 228
- heptarchia scientiarum, *the 7 liberal arts* : p. 335
- hernicus, *adorned(??)* : p. 127. Sed confer A. Bartal, *Glossarium... Latinitis... Hungariae*, s.v.
- *heteromallus, *of velvet* : p. 238
- *iconomachus, *iconoclast* : p. 262
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- Luteranismus, *Lutheranism* : p. 250
- matria, *motherland* : p. 359
- *mellilegus, *gathering honey* : p. 131
- *methodice, *methodically* : p. 182, 188
- *millecuplus, *thousandfold* : p. 359
- Mincigena, *born on the banks of the Mincio (Virgil)* : p. 128
- *missale, *mass-book* : p. 8
- *museolum, *tiny study* : p. 256
- Musula, *a dear Muse* : p. 122
- ostentabundus, *ostentatious* : p. 107
- ostracismus, *ostracism* : p. 336
- paginarius, *(nickname of P. Ramus, who read one page a day)* : p. 194
- paginatim, *a page at a time* : p. 194
- pentastega, *fifth floor* : p. 268
- perinclytus, *most famous* : p. 312
- permansuetus, *mild-tempered* : p. 121
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- pumificatus, *polished* : p. 134
- reprehensorius, *refutative* : p. 222
- *sacellanus, *sacristan* : p. 242
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STATUTS DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE D'ÉTUDES NÉO-LATINES

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Article I — Objet et Titre de l'Association

I.A L'objet et les buts de l'Association seront les suivants :

1. promouvoir l'intérêt pour le néo-latin et faire avancer les études néo-latines;
2. rendre accessible à tous les membres, par le moyen de publications soumises à l'approbation de l'Association les informations d'intérêt général concernant en particulier l'enseignement et la recherche en néo-latin dans les collèges, les Universités, les Instituts, et les autres centres éducatifs;
3. tenir des congrès internationaux à intervalles réguliers;
4. encourager, partout où la chose sera possible, la publication de travaux et de textes en néo-latin et dans les domaines apparentés;
5. encourager l'enseignement du néo-latin à tous les niveaux appropriés de l'éducation.

Par « néo-latin », on entend les écrits en latin depuis les débuts de l'Humanisme.

I.B L'Association sera connue sous le titre d'Association Internationale d'Etudes néo-latines (AIENL) (International Association for Neo-Latin Studies; Associazione internazionale dei studi latini umanistici e moderni; Internationale Gesellschaft für neulateinische Forschungen).

Les statuts officiels seront rédigés en latin.

Article II — Conditions d'admission

II.A 1. Sur demande présentée au Secrétariat, l'admission à l'Association sera ouverte à tous ceux qui enseignent le néo-latin dans

les établissements éducatifs, qui sont engagés dans les recherches en néo-latin, ou qui sont membres d'Instituts de recherches ou de bibliothèques associés aux études néo-latines. D'autres personnes que leur travail dans tel domaine approprié amène à s'intéresser au néo-latin, seront invitées à solliciter leur adhésion auprès du Secrétariat.

2. En outre, le Comité Exécutif aura le pouvoir d'inviter à titre de membres des savants dont l'œuvre concerne le néo-latin.

II.B Tous les membres en règle auront le droit de vote dans les assemblées administratives de chaque Congrès.

II.C 1. Une souscription sera versée annuellement par chacun des membres et sera exigible au 1^{er} janvier de chaque année civile. Néanmoins cette souscription pourra être versée pour une période plus longue. Le montant de la cotisation sera fixé par chaque congrès pour la période à courir jusqu'au congrès suivant, sur la recommandation du Trésorier après l'approbation du Comité Exécutif (voir Art. IV.B) et de l'Assemblée administrative (voir Article VII.D). Le Comité Exécutif aura pouvoir, dans certaines circonstances, de réduire le montant de la cotisation ou d'en exempter un membre de l'Association.

2. Pour les membres ayant cessé leurs activités dans leur institution, à la condition d'avoir été membres de l'Association pendant une période de trois ans, le montant de la souscription normale sera réduite de moitié.
3. L'Assemblée administrative, en accord avec le Comité Consultatif, aura pouvoir de déterminer si une association et des centres affiliés doivent être invités à payer une souscription annuelle, et dans l'affirmative, d'en fixer le montant.

Article III — Bureau

III.A Afin de pouvoir diriger les activités de l'Association, un Bureau, composé des membres suivants, sera désigné et élu de la manière décrite ci-dessous à l'article V :

1. Un Président, élu pour la durée comprise entre deux Congrès (avec la possibilité d'être réélu à une date ultérieure, mais pas immédiatement à la suite de son mandat);
2. Deux Vice-Présidents dont le premier sera normalement désigné par le Comité Electoral pour succéder à la Présidence et qui, au cours de son mandat de Vice-Président, présidera le Comité Consultatif. Le second Vice-Président préside le Comité d'organisation chargé de la préparation du prochain congrès. Il appartiendra à l'Institution universitaire qui accueille ce Congrès. (En l'absence ou en cas de maladie du Président et du premier Vice-Président, le second Vice-Président assurera la fonction de Président; normalement le premier Vice-Pré-

dent assurera la fonction de Président ou succédera au Président lui-même en cas de maladie grave ou de quelque autre urgence). Les deux Vice-Présidents resteront en fonction pour la période qui sépare le Congrès du Congrès suivant.

3. Un Trésorier, dont la fonction s'étendra sur une période de six années (ou la période comprise entre 2 Congrès, si celle-ci est supérieure à six années) et qui pourra être réélu pour un autre terme. Il fera un rapport devant l'Assemblée administrative de chaque Congrès.
4. Un Secrétaire dont la fonction s'étendra sur une période de six années (ou la période comprise entre deux Congrès, si celle-ci est supérieure à six années), et qui peut être réélu pour un ou plusieurs termes.

III.B Afin d'assurer le caractère international de l'Association, on tiendra compte de la répartition géographique des membres du Bureau à élire. En outre, les deux Vice-Présidents ne devront pas normalement être originaires du même pays.

Article IV — Comités

- IV.A Sera institué un Comité Electoral pour préparer le scrutin qui doit être présenté à chaque Congrès pour l'élection des membres du Bureau, à l'exception du second Vice-Président (voir article IV pour sa désignation). Ce Comité consistera en la personne du Président sortant et du Président du Comité consultatif, et d'un 3^e membre désigné par le Comité Consultatif. En dehors de la fonction de Président, deux ou plus de deux candidats seront désignés pour chaque fonction. Des candidatures pourront être déclarées sans aucune restriction par les membres de l'Association, aux conditions prévues à l'article V ci-dessous.
- IV.B Pour conduire les affaires de l'Association entre les Congrès et établir le plan du Congrès suivant, un Comité exécutif sera institué. Ce Comité se composera du Président, des deux Vice-Présidents, du Secrétaire et du Trésorier. Ce Comité entrera en fonction à la date d'élection des membres du Bureau à un Congrès déterminé, et restera en fonction jusqu'à la formation d'un nouveau Comité Exécutif, lors de l'élection des membres du Bureau au Congrès suivant. Ce Comité se réunira au moins une fois par an à la discrétion du Président. Il sera habilité à agir au nom de l'Association, ainsi qu'il est prévu par d'autres articles de ces statuts, dans la période comprise entre deux Congrès.
- IV.C Sera institué un Comité d'organisation du Congrès, désigné par le Président dudit Comité, lequel appartiendra à l'Institution chargée d'accueillir ce Congrès, et qui sera désigné par elle (Comme il est noté à l'article III.A ci-dessus, le Président de ce Comité est *ipso facto* le second Vice-Président). Le Secrétaire et le Trésorier seront *ex officio* membres de ce Comité, et le

Président aura pouvoir de coopter des membres supplémentaires.

- IV.D Sera institué un Comité du Programme du Congrès chargé de sélectionner les orateurs et d'organiser le programme du Congrès suivant, conformément aux directives fournies par l'Assemblée administrative tenue lors du précédent Congrès. Le Président de ce Comité sera le nouveau Président et les membres du Comité devront comprendre le Président du Comité d'Organisation, le Président du Comité consultatif, et le Secrétaire.
- IV.E Sera institué un Comité des Publications, ainsi qu'il est noté à l'article IX ci-dessous : son Président devra être désigné par le Comité Exécutif, et cette désignation ratifiée par l'Assemblée administrative du Congrès.
- IV.F Sera institué un Comité d'Enseignement du Néo-Latin (voir article I.A.5), le Président est nommé par le Comité Exécutif et sa nomination est approuvée par l'Assemblée administrative du Congrès.
- IV.G D'autres Comités pourront être institués par le Comité Exécutif ou réclamés à une Assemblée administrative. Ils devront être ratifiés lors d'une Assemblée administrative.
- IV.H Les divers Comités seront tenus de soumettre un rapport écrit à l'Assemblée administrative.

Article V — Elections et Vacances

- V.A L'élection des membres du Bureau, telle qu'elle est rapportée à l'Article III.A, devra être conduite de la manière suivante.
Le Comité Electoral doit préparer le scrutin qui comportera un nom pour la Présidence, et deux ou plus de deux candidats pour chacune des autres fonctions, à l'exception de la seconde Vice-présidence (voir article IV.C). Les désignations de candidats faites par les membres de l'Association doivent être adressées par écrit au Secrétaire devant l'Assemblée administrative. Les désignations faites par le Comité Electoral devront être assorties du consentement des candidats. Les désignations faites par les membres de l'Association doivent figurer par écrit trente jours au moins avant la réunion du Congrès; elles doivent être faites à la suite d'une double proposition et impliquer le consentement des candidats. Le Président sortant assurera la présidence de l'Assemblée administrative et dirigera les opérations de vote. Le vote se déroulera à bulletins secrets, le secrétaire contrôlant le nombre des votants. L'élection sera obtenue à la majorité simple.
- V.B Tous les membres de l'Association sont éligibles au Comité Consultatif (voir Article VI ci-dessous). Des représentants des Associations et des Centres affiliés à l'AIENL seront désignés par leur association ou leur centre, les représentants des diverses disciplines devront être membres de l'AIENL et pourront être

désignés par leurs collègues (sur la proposition d'un membre puis d'un second, comme indiqué en A, ci-dessus). L'élection au Comité Consultatif aura lieu au cours de l'Assemblée administrative; la procédure se déroulera comme en A.

Article VI — Comité Consultatif

- VI.A Sera institué un Comité Consultatif qui aura pour fonction de faciliter et de développer les relations entre l'AIENL d'une part, et d'autre part les associations et les centres affiliés à l'AIENL (voir article VIII ci-dessous), aussi bien qu'avec les centres et les institutions où se pratiquent les disciplines représentées au sein de l'AIENL.
- VI.B Le Comité Consultatif comprendra :
1. des représentants des disciplines fondamentales (art, culture classique, histoire, droit, linguistique, littérature, musique, philosophie, sciences, théologie, etc. ...);
 2. des représentants de l'Association et des Centres affiliés à l'AIENL, chacun d'entre eux ayant un représentant au Comité Consultatif.
- VI.C 1. Le nombre des représentants des disciplines fondamentales devant être représenté au Comité Consultatif sera déterminé de temps à autre par l'Assemblée administrative de l'AIENL.
2. Les représentants de ces disciplines resteront en fonction jusqu'à la réunion de l'Assemblée administrative suivante, et seront rééligibles pour un ou plusieurs termes.
 3. Pour les désignations et l'élection des représentants mentionnés sous B.1 et B.2, voir article V.B.
- VI.D 1. Les Associations et les Centres qui désireront s'affilier à l'AIENL en feront la demande auprès du Président du Comité Consultatif, qui la transmettra à une Assemblée administrative pour approbation ou toute autre éventualité où le Président du Comité Consultatif aura pouvoir d'inviter des Associations et des Centres à s'affilier à l'AIENL.
2. Sur la question de la cotisation des Associations et des Centres affiliés, voir article II.C.E.
- VI.E Le Comité Consultatif comprendra un Président, élu à une Assemblée administrative du Congrès, et dont la fonction durera jusqu'au Congrès suivant. Ce sera le premier Vice-Président dont la charge consistera à s'assurer que les avis, recommandations et requêtes émanant du Comité Consultatif seront transmis au Comité exécutif. Le Président du Comité Consultatif convoquera une réunion du Comité le premier jour du Congrès suivant. A cette réunion des recommandations seront faites pour être portées devant le Comité Exécutif, et un membre pris en dehors du Comité sera désigné pour faire partie du Comité Electoral. Le Président du Comité Consultatif exercera aussi des fonctions

au sein du Comité du Programme du Congrès (voir article IV.D), et (comme prévu à l'article III.A.2.) il sera le premier Vice-Président.

Article VII — Congrès

- VII.A Un Congrès international de l'Association se tiendra à intervalles de trois à cinq années, dans les pays qui seront recommandés par le Comité Exécutif à la réunion administrative de l'Association à chaque Congrès.
- VII.B A l'exception des personnes qui seront invitées, seuls les membres de l'Association auront le droit de proposer une communication au Comité du Programme du Congrès, qui l'examinera, et de participer à Chaque Congrès, moyennant le paiement d'un droit d'inscription, qui sera déterminé par le Comité d'Organisation du Congrès. A chaque Congrès une ou plus d'une conférence ainsi que d'autres activités pourront être ouvertes au public, suivant la décision du Comité d'Organisation.
- VII.C Le Comité Exécutif aura pouvoir d'inviter des non-membres à un Congrès, en leur faisant payer un droit d'inscription ou à titre gracieux dans les limites et selon les dispositions appropriées, ou autres considérations.
- VII.D A chaque Congrès sera organisée une Assemblée générale, au cours de laquelle devront avoir lieu les élections et être traitées les autres questions indiquées dans d'autres articles des statuts. Cette réunion est désigné sous le nom d'« Assemblée administrative du Congrès ».
- VII.E L'ordre du jour de l'Assemblée administrative devra être mis en circulation par le Secrétaire au moins un mois avant le Congrès. Tout membre qui désirera inscrire une question à l'ordre du jour devra le communiquer par écrit au Président de l'Association deux mois avant le Congrès.

Article VIII — Représentation et affiliation

- VIII.A Sur la recommandation du Comité Exécutif et avec l'approbation de l'Assemblée administrative, l'Association peut être représentée dans des organisations appropriées. L'Association sera représentée aux assemblées d'autres congrès seulement après approbation du Comité Exécutif.
- VIII.B Les Associations et les Centres désirant s'affilier à l'AIENL, le feront comme prévu à l'article VI.D.

Article IX — Publications

- IX.A Les Actes de chaque Congrès seront normalement publiés sous une forme qui sera fidèle à l'objet et les buts de l'Association. La

responsabilité de la préparation d'une telle publication incombera au Comité du Programme du Congrès.

IX.B L'information concernant des sujets néo-latins sera régulièrement publiée dans une ou plusieurs publications, avec le concours de l'AIENL; des notices officielles seront communiquées aux membres par le Secrétaire.

IX.C D'autres publications pourront être de temps à autre recommandées par le Comité Exécutif. Il sera constitué un Comité de Publications. La nomination du Président de ce comité sera agréée par le Comité Exécutif. Le Président devra être membre « ex officio » du Comité chargé de la publication des Actes, comme au § A ci-dessus.

Article X — Révision des Statuts.

Des motions tendant à modifier les statuts doivent être communiquées aux membres de l'Association deux mois avant le Congrès pendant lequel elles seront mises en discussion. Une motion de révision des statuts doit être votée à la majorité des deux-tiers des membres présents et votant à une Assemblée administrative du Congrès dont avis aura été dûment donné au préalable.

